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ABSTRACT

The document consists of a report by the chairman of the Committee on Anthropology and Education and six essays commissioned by the committee. In addressing the need to support educational anthropology programs, the report suggests: creation of a national fellowship program for graduate students; interchanges among educational anthropology programs; a task force of educational anthropologists to examine recurring crises and conflicts in education; and initiation of an institute for advanced studies in anthropology and education. Suggestions for improving the quality and theoretical bases of educational anthropology include: reviewing and selecting research at national agencies and foundations, and investing in interdisciplinary research which focuses on social and structural factors influencing education. The first essay offers an historical review of contributions which led to the establishment of educational anthropology. The second essay, which comprises the major portion of the document, reviews current approaches and findings in psychological anthropology relevant to educational anthropology. The paper contains an extensive annotated bibliography on perception and cognition, socialization, and social change. The third essay discusses the value of applying the concepts of social anthropology to the analysis of schools and the social dimensions of learning. The fourth essay examines the utility of social anthropological theory for the analysis of education through a case study of Chiapas, Mexico. The fifth essay provides a report on federal agencies, issues, and policies relevant to research. The final essay proposes professional networks, careers, and education for educational anthropologists. (KC)

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REPORT AND WORKING PAPERS

The Committee
on
Anthropology
and
Education

NATIONAL ACADEMY OF EDUCATION

1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

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FOREWORD

In 1972, The National Academy of Education appointed a committee to consider ways of refining the value of anthropology in the field of education.

The committee consisted of Conrad Arensberg, Columbia University; Laura Bohannon, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign; J. W. Getzels, University of Chicago; Robert J. Havighurst, University of Chicago; John Herzog, Northeastern University; Francis A. J. Ianni, Teachers College, Columbia University; Robert Levine, University of Chicago; David Maybury-Lewis, Harvard University, who regretfully resigned his membership in 1973; David Reisman, Harvard University; John Singleton, University of Pittsburgh; M. G. Smith, University College, London; George Spindler, Stanford University; Melford E. Spiro, University of California at San Diego; Martin Trow, University of California at Berkeley; John W. M. Whiting, Harvard University; and Lambros Comitas, Chairman, Teachers College, Columbia University. Representing The Ford Foundation, in ex-officio capacity, was Terry Saario.

Three plenary sessions were held, the first at Teachers College, Columbia University in New York City on October 7, 1972. In attendance were Arensberg, Burnett, Comitas, Getzels, Havighurst, Herzog, Ianni, Maybury-Lewis, Saario, Singleton

and Smith, as well as invited guests Lawrence A. Cremin, then President of the National Academy of Education, and James Kelley and Edward J. Meade, Jr. of The Ford Foundation. The second session took place at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, on February 9-10, 1973, and was attended by Arensberg, Comitas, Getzels, Herzog, Ianni, Maybury-Lewis, Saario, Singleton, Smith, Spindler, Spiro, and Trow, with Robert Textor of Stanford University as an invited participant. The third session was held at the Research Institute for the Study of Man, New York City, on November 14-15, 1975, with Arensberg, Burnet, Comitas, Getzels, Herzog, Ianni, Saario, Singleton, and Whiting attending. Invited participants were Charles Harrington, Nancy Foxworthy and Frances Schwartz of Teachers College. In addition, several informal meetings took place during the course of the Committee's tenure.

The document which follows reflects the work of the Committee. It consists of the Chairman's report and six working papers commissioned by the Committee for use in its deliberations. The report by the Chairman relies heavily on the discussions and minutes of the plenary meetings, on the six working papers submitted to the Committee, and on many

informal discussions held by the Chairman with individual Committee members. While it is impossible in one statement to have presented a full review of all the topics, perspectives and ranges of opinion brought before the Committee, the Chairman believes that this report, for which he takes full responsibility, is a balanced representation of the views of a large majority of the Committee. A reading of the entire document, however, will provide a fuller sense of the range of Committee thought, and a wealth of factual detail.

Several authors of working papers asked and received permission to publish them after having initially presented their papers to the Committee. As a consequence, three Committee documents have already been published either partially or entirely. A version of Francis A. J. Ianni's paper has appeared as "Anthropology and Education Research: Report on Federal Agency Programs, Policies and Issues" (Anthropology and Education Quarterly, VII:3); two sections of Charles Harrington's long report on psychological anthropology and education have been published as "A Psychological Anthropologist's View of Ethnicity and Schooling" (IRCD Bulletin, X:4) and "Psychological Anthropology and Educational Practice" (Teachers College Record, 78:1); and, the last to appear in

print, is "A Social Anthropology of Education: The Case of Chiapas" (Anthropology and Education Quarterly, VIII:4) by John C. Kelley.

The Committee is grateful to three of its members-- Jacquetta Hill Burnett, Francis A. J. Ianni and John Singleton -- and to five non-members -- Nancy Foxworthy, Charles Harrington, John C. Kelley, Francis Schwartz and Robert Textor -- for preparing working papers on selected issues in anthropology and education for the Committee's deliberations. It is appreciative of the competent services rendered by John Donahue, Nancy Foxworthy and Frances Schwartz as rapporteurs at plenary meetings of the Committee. The Committee also acknowledges its debt to Teachers College, Columbia University, the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and the Research Institute for the Study of Man, for their most gracious and generous hospitality as hosts for its three plenary meetings. Most importantly, the Committee wishes to express its indebtedness to The Ford Foundation for providing not only generous financial support but an intimate interest in its work, and to the National Academy of Education for the vision and initiative that set it all in motion.

Finally, the Chairman takes this opportunity to extend his personal gratitude to the members of the Committee for their patience, dedication and wise counsel, to the many anthropologists and others concerned with education who shared their knowledge and expertise with the Committee, and to Professor Janet Dolgin, Teachers College, for her most valued contributions to the preparation of the report.

Respectfully submitted,

Lambros Comitas
Chairman

November 1977

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN

Lambros Comitas

Education and to a lesser degree, anthropology, have become words with surprisingly wide currency in contemporary America. However, since prevalence does not assure uniformity of understanding, it would not be inappropriate, here, given the nature of this report, to begin by specifying our own usage of them. We start with an obvious and important distinction: anthropology is a science, a distinctive branch of systematized knowledge; education, viewed here as a domain of purposeful acts and processes, is not.

In the United States, anthropology is, quintessentially, the science of man, an overarching discipline with ties to the biological sciences, to the humanities, and to its sibling social sciences. It is a science which in theory explores all facets of human life -- somatic, psychological, social and cultural -- through both time and space. Traditionally, it has grouped itself into four sub-fields: physical anthropology, archeology, linguistics and sociocultural anthropology. Like any science, anthropology is ultimately concerned with the establishment of general laws and principles; as a unique science, its objective is the determination of the laws and principles that govern mankind. To paraphrase the seminal

social theorist Emile Durkheim, anthropological theory, like all scientific theory, has as its goal the expression of reality.

Durkheim has also informed us that a science of education is not impossible but that education itself is not that science. With this we are in agreement. Education is neither science nor art. It is in fact a basic institution of society, or in S. F. Nadel's terms, a "standardized mode of co-activity," to be found wherever human life is found. Taking our lead from Nadel, education, in both its formal and informal guises, is a pivotal social institution with both operative and regulative aspects; it is operative, like other institutions, in that it can fulfill its professed purpose and achieve its task within itself and so renders its specific service to society; it is also regulative, as are a few other institutions, in that the activities of education vitally affect and influence the operation of many other social institutions. It is this unique blend that gives education its undisputed power and importance in society. Like all institutions, education in any specific society, has a charter of values, distinctive forms of groupings and personal relationships, set cycles of activities, material apparatuses, and a purposive character. In the United States, the social institution of education is infinitely complex: a convolution of explicit

and implicit values; a plethora of intertwined groupings and relationships from families, peer groups, student clusters, teachers, school functionaries, humanists, scientists and policy makers to schools, school systems, schools of education, universities, museums, unions and government bodies; a labyrinthine calendar of activities and events activating myriad physical plants and technologies; and all of this is geared to the guidance of conduct and to preparation for action.

If the goals of anthropology as science and the purpose of education as institution do not coincide, this is not to deny that anthropologists have not and cannot contribute as scientists to the healthy functioning and development of education. However, the distinction drawn is key to understanding the challenge faced by this committee. Certainly, the issue was not to improve the relationship between two homologous structures -- anthropology and education -- although there are some in anthropology as well as in education who might view it in this manner. Rather, we took the issues to be: how to improve the relationship of anthropology, a science or discipline having its own idiosyncratic history and experience, with a specifically American institution or domain, that of education; how can anthropological scientists be most effective within the institution of education and, particularly,

in schools of education; how can a specifically anthropological perspective be best promoted and advocated among educators, some of whom may well be representatives of other sciences; and finally, how to promote interest among anthropologists in translating the relevance of their more general studies to the understanding and resolution of problems in American education given their discipline's wariness of application and long tradition of research in less complex societies outside of the United States.

No useful discussion of these complex issues is possible without context. In this light, we begin with a schematic history of anthropology and education, an outline intended only to pinpoint the areas of historic convergence and to highlight the domains of theoretical intersection.

* * * * *

Anthropology, or perhaps better anthropologies, are part and parcel of the historical context in which they develop, in which they are used -- to answer some questions and to pose others -- and in which, as often as not, they are eulogized. In the United States, as elsewhere, theory, even anthropological theory, has not sprung de novo from the heads of individual scholars, has not developed in a vacuum but has reflected the concerns of the day, the issues and questions of moment. The tone and direction of scholarly work, more frequently perhaps than its ivory-tower exponents know -- or admit -- responds to the changing demands of policy makers and to altered financial conditions and constraints.

Before delineating present-day approaches, it would be worthwhile to very briefly review some pertinent aspects of the history of American anthropology and of anthropology and education. It would not be unfair to state that the early years of scientific anthropology in the United States, that is, the decades straddling the 19th and 20th centuries, were wedded to a unilinear model of evolutionary theory and were restricted almost exclusively to the documentation and description of the "primitive" or "preliterate" particularly among indigenous populations of North America. The reasons for this are complex, although inextricably linked to the social

and economic conditions of the time; to an expanding economy; to the closing of the frontier; and to developing ideologies concerning the assimilation of culturally distinct migrant groups. Despite the lack of theoretical sophistication, an early interest in education and processes of culture transmission was evidenced by these pioneering ancestors of the discipline. For example, it is claimed that one of the most popular lecture series sponsored by The Anthropological Society of Washington, founded in 1879 as the first anthropological organization in the United States, was a symposium in 1892 entitled "Is Simplified Spelling Feasible?" In that very same year the first doctorate in anthropology in the United States under the sponsorship of Franz Boas was awarded by Clark University.

By the early twentieth century, several universities had established departments of anthropology or anthropology programs with sociology departments. Evolutionary theory was becoming less fashionable and historical particularism, as developed by Boas at Columbia University was beginning to take hold. The potential of anthropology for the understanding and resolution of educational problems was anticipated in these years and was explicitly signalled by Edgar L. Hewlett's germinative lecture on ethnic factors in education,

published in 1905, which dealt with the deficiencies in education offered to Filipinos and Indians. In the next decade Franz Boas and Maria Montessori began publishing on educational matters. Emphasis in these writings was given to learning and experience, in contrast to the stress placed on heredity by other disciplines during the same period.

During the 1920s, the consequence of these issues was preserved and broadened particularly with Levy-Bruhl's work on the conceptual processes of "primitive" people, which brought to the fore questions concerning the similarities and variations in modes of thought from society to society. The next decade proved especially formative for future work in anthropology and education: the florescence of studies in culture and personality associated with the work of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Abram Kardiner, Ralph Linton and others, had propitious meaning for anthropology and education. The implications of socialization processes and of modes through which learning occurs in various social contexts were of patent concern to a wide variety of educational studies. Explicit heedfulness of education developed as well from within British social anthropology and its tradition of structural-functionalism; this perspective, emphasizing the structure and function of social institutions, was not fully assimilated by American students of anthropology for another twenty years.

It was, however, during the 1930s that Meyer Fortes presented his now classic analysis of education among the Tallensi of Africa and that Sir Raymond Firth analyzed educative forms among the Tikopia of the South Pacific. Moreover, during this same period, there emerged among some American anthropologists a concern with the theoretical and practical problems of cultures in contact, a foreshadowing of later developments in applied anthropology and anthropology and education. Of significance were Melville Herskovits' work in Africa and the studies of Ruth Bunzel in Guatemala and Robert Redfield in Mexico. Although World War II brought something of a hiatus to traditional anthropological research, education in acculturative situations continued to draw anthropological attention. In addition, the conjunction of culture and personality studies and work on processes of cultural transmission engendered increasing interest in the problematic interrelation between the individual and the wider culture.

A most critical period for American anthropology began with the termination of World War II, a period also decisive for anthropological studies in education. Concentration on American Indian research, so central to the discipline for almost a half a century, dimmed before the broad aerial interests ushered in after the war. For anthropology, this

period witnessed shifting stresses at the level of theory, correlating with undertaking of research on several continents and with its first tentative probes in urban, complex environments. American anthropologists were turning with renewed energies to the analysis of social and cultural systems in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and in the islands and new trust territories of the Pacific.

After World War II, anthropology with its traditional subfields and new specializations expanded rapidly, with new sources of funding available for work in widespread research sites, comprehended through a proliferating set of methodological and theoretical innovations. Within the American tradition, the culture and personality approach maintained a salient position although a narrowing of focus to studies of "national character" was at least partially responsible for its subsequent sharp decline in popularity and importance within the discipline. The virtual demise of psychologically attuned studies, with a few notable exceptions, brought to a standstill an edifying mode of inquiry of particular significance to education. At least part of the research endeavors associated with culture and personality studies was preserved, although in new guises, under the aegis of enculturation studies and of work in the arena of language and culture. Herskovits' conceptualization of enculturation safeguarded the

stage on which later considerations of culture transmission, education, schooling, and socialization could be made. Edward Sapir's seminal work on language and culture enormously facilitated the comprehension of cultural modes through linguistic models thereby encouraging attention to the forms through which learning and communication occur. From a quite different perspective, the conceptualizations of British social anthropology strongly influenced American anthropology during the 1950s, stimulating analyses of the structural properties of societies in light of functional capacities of social systems to endure. In addition, the importation to the United States of Saussurian linguistics and French structuralism has tended to broaden extant theory and to have spawned a group of novel approaches which held promise for students of anthropology and education.

During this period, legitimacy accrued to the study of education within anthropology. One of the first public manifestations of this growing acceptance was the conference on Education and Anthropology convened by George Spindler at Stanford University in 1954 which, among other things, recommended and in fact generated regular communication among anthropologists and other scholars in professional schools of education. One might be tempted to argue that this conference signalled the formal coming of age of anthropology and education as an acceptable specialization within the discipline at large.

If the quarter century after World War II can be characterized as a period of unprecedented growth with abundant funding, the proliferation of university posts and considerable diversification of geographical, theoretical and problem interests, then the years of the 70s can only be viewed as a time of relative contraction with relative shortage of funds, declining opportunities for traditional academic niches, increasingly strident demands for "relevance" in research, and perhaps most significantly the period when American anthropologists began in increasing numbers to study American culture and society -- for some non-anthropologists, the belated return of the prodigal academic. These profound shifts in the anthropological milieu are having effect not only on the organization of the discipline but also on current usage of anthropological theory and method.

At this point in time there does not seem to be a dominant theoretical position within American anthropology. It is possible, however, to identify a set of approaches to anthropological study, each of which might be termed a "school" of inquiry. Many, if not most of these, are relevant to the concerns of anthropology and education. This would have to be so given the interesting but unsurprising fact that the development of anthropology and education is embedded in and reflects the history of anthropology itself. No one approach

predominates, nor can any one be viewed as presenting the perspective of most American anthropologists: a situation which lends itself to a potentially fruitful combination of frustrations and flexibilities. The plethora of approaches can be frustrating, especially for students new to the field, in that the subject often seems to lack a clear set of epistemological understandings: It is not always obvious what it is that the anthropologist wants to know. Conversely, the absence of rigid boundaries and definitions offers an arena for -- most felicitously an arena encouraging -- creative combinations and innovative solutions to theoretical and methodological questions.

Any listing of the "schools" of inquiry with current significance in American anthropology would perforce include the following: structural-functionalism (in its various modern guises); psychological anthropology; Weberian anthropology; neo-Weberian anthropology (associated particularly with Talcott Parsons and his students); ethnoscience; ethology; interactionalism and ethnomethodology; cultural ecology; structuralism; phenomenology; symbolic theory; and Marxist anthropology (in its several guises). Obviously, the suppositions and forms of analysis encompassed by these respective approaches are amenable to being combined with, and understood in the light of, the suppositions and analytic frames associated with other approaches. Several approaches, however, are or are partially, mutually contradictory. So,

for instance, while ethology and ethnoscience have had relatively little to do with each other, the work of scholars utilizing the phenomenological approach has been heavily informed by Weberian theory.

The several "schools" of inquiry listed are not of equal significance for the understanding of educational problems, nor within anthropology more broadly. Further, the various perspectives have dissimilar, though interrelated, histories within the discipline. A few offer relatively novel approaches which may or may not pass the test of time; others, crucial in their day, now provide little more than passing, even if classic, reference. Still others expand through cross-fertilization of ideas and increased attention of researchers thus providing new sources of understanding. It is to the latter that anthropology and education must pay particular attention in the coming years.

The history of anthropology, generally, and that of anthropology and education, specifically, demonstrate the value of multiple perspective and the flexibility gained from a lack of a dominant or dominating approach and of rigid definitions. Yet, it is clear that there are some frames of analysis, methods of inquiry, and conceptualizations of the broad anthropological enterprise which are more directly useful to research in anthropology and education

than are others. These are discussed below with some limitations. Several areas of anthropological study, yet unmentioned or only briefly noted, are not irrelevant to investigations in anthropology and education; particularly, the work of human biologists and other physical anthropologists is of importance to the exploration of issues touching on education. We do not deal with this exciting genre of research, however, since our primary concern is with social and cultural anthropology. Secondly, we make no direct reference to research techniques, as important as they may be for understanding specific problems. We separate methodology from technique and consider the former to be more directly tied to theory. While research techniques can be used by many researchers working from within a host of perspectives, methodology is enjoined by and informs major theoretical questions. With these caveats in mind, we begin our examination of several of the schools of inquiry useful to contemporary anthropology and education.

Social and cultural anthropology encompasses a varied set of theoretical positions but is unified in its attention to a set of issues and strategies which are relevant to the study of education. The long-standing tradition within anthropology of cross-cultural research and comparison, for

example, provides a valuable dimension as well as a potential warning to researchers concerned with one classroom or school or even with one community. That people have created a host of institutional forms within which to educate their young and a myriad of ideologies through which to explain or revise those forms, makes it impossible to conceive of any one structure, ideology, or set of perceptions and interactions as being universal, and thus inevitable. This point should not be lost when American anthropologists turn with increasing effort to the investigation of their own society. The tradition of cross-cultural research creates awareness of the artificial, if often analytically useful, divisions and boundaries assumed to exist between so-called social wholes. Correlatively, research in educational contexts outside the United States provides comparative frames of reference for studies of American society. Cognizance of the existence of other ways of structuring and conceiving the social world than those which are most natural to us -- our own -- instills awareness of the assumptions behind the taken-for-granted aspects of our own society.

Anthropology, as a whole, has been increasingly involved in investigating the relation between the individual and the collective levels of social life. A tendency to stress the individual or the collectivity to the relative exclusion

of the other is among the less auspicious lagniappes of the classical sociologists to sociological and anthropological theory: Emile Durkheim, whose notion of collective representations has informed much subsequent research, gave little that might aid in the study of individual creativity and variation; conversely, Max Weber's rich descriptions of the workings of social orders stressed the significance of individual motivation and intention but, in comparison, neglected collective structures and understandings. Since Weber and Durkheim did their work, anthropologists and sociologists have understood the significance of each approach, but also the need to balance, or perhaps expand, each in terms of the other. The persistent anthropological conundrum of how to delineate and classify the mutual effects of individual people and of collectivities on one another has been inherited full-grown by anthropologists of education. Infants are not yet the adults they become, but are born into and socialized through a social order which upholds certain conceptions of what is "real", of what counts, of when to feel happy and when to feel glum. People are not merely machines, pre-conditioned to act out a certain mode of life. Though socialized into particular forms of life, individuals do make choices and decisions, do effect innovations and on occasion do change the very nature of the order of things. How a society induces

collective understandings in social actors and how social actors alter these understandings are issues which directly or indirectly undergird each of the anthropological approaches with which we are concerned. These questions take on additional weight in studies of social alteration; they stand behind micro-studies of change within specific educational settings and macro-studies of the wider social context within which institutional and non-institutional education is effected.

Let us briefly examine several approaches within anthropology which have been especially connected with or useful to education. These perspectives can be demarcated; yet each speaks to the others. The first and most general is cultural transmission or, more specifically, the investigation of the processes of cultural transmission. This term, this perspective, long associated with studies in anthropology and education, may well be considered the sine qua non of most cultural anthropologists involved with education. It may also well stand as the anthropological definition of education itself. Significant research has been carried out by an illustrious roster of anthropologists employing, explicitly or implicitly, various models of cultural transmission in their analyses of small-scale societies, large homogeneous societies and of complex, culturally heterogeneous settings. In essence,

anthropologists directly involved in questions of cultural transmission focus on the forms through which values and attendant behavior are taught and the specific content of the societal, cultural or group value system. Within this broad framework, a variety of pertinent questions can be raised. George Spindler, for example, pinpoints a major issue, one which informed his own development of a model for a study of acculturation, when he inquired whether the culture transmitted by the school constrains instrumental choices children make of urban lifestyles and the means to them. Cultural transmission, as a focus of anthropological inquiry, however, is not a theoretical "school" of inquiry. It does not possess a commonly accepted body of unique theory and lacks a linked, coherent methodology. It is, in fact, an important focus or definition of a field but not a school of inquiry. The theoretical underpinnings of cultural transmission stem from a number of subdisciplinary "schools"; high among these stands psychological anthropology.

This school, methodologically rigorous off-shoot of the culture and personality interests of anthropology in the past, offers much to the systematic study of education particularly in its examination of cross-cultural variations of learning processes, socialization, and social change. Patently,

differences in the forms through which teaching and learning occur exist from society to society. From earliest childhood through adulthood, individuals are socialized as members of particular groups; in this process the content of group membership is appropriated by individuals who become social actors in specific parts of specific social orders. Further, individuals learn how to perceive their social world and their relation to it and with this they learn how that world can be changed so that the changes are, if not applauded, at least perceived as "real," "sane," or even possibly "appropriate." Studies of acculturation have delineated processes of social change and, most significantly for education, those fostered by external contingency; for example, among migrant populations. In their examination of phenomena such as ethnic stereotyping, psychological anthropologists can and do bear directly on questions of curriculum development and academic placement. Psychological anthropology, in approaching the assessment of educational programs or institutions, has more and more undertaken simultaneous investigation of historical and situational factors which define the larger context into which individuals are socialized. In fact, psychological anthropologists bring to such research and thus to policy makers a valuable corrective -- the

tendency of anthropology to question basic principles, given its cross-cultural stance, principles that other disciplines as well as policy makers most often take for granted.

Another "school" of relatively recent vintage, commonly referred to as symbolic anthropology, is closely related to aspects of cross-cultural psychology, especially in its analyses of value systems. Symbolic anthropology is a potentially productive avenue toward understanding structures of symbols and meanings within the educational domain; symbolic theory is concerned with the codes through which meaning is created, limited, and altered. Within educational institutions, it is possible to demarcate the structure of the system of symbolic forms used by social actors to define, and act in, the educational situation. Clearly, the extent to which the direction in which these systems can be manipulated in specific contexts is crucial to understanding the character of processes of education. Concomitantly, links at the systemic level between symbolic usages explicitly found in relation to education and in other arenas of social life can be delineated, thereby enhancing comprehension of sociocultural connections between educational settings and activities, per se, and other parts of the social order in which these are embedded. This

genre of research, not yet fully integrated within anthropology and education, should be encouraged.

In order to fully comprehend the purport and implications of symbolic usages and learning processes, of codes for meaning and motivational patterns, we must also uncover and describe the structure and goals, both implicit and explicit, of institutions and of the larger social forms beside or within which particular institutions rest. Social anthropology, particularly in its structural-functional theory, provides us with the bases of a macro-sociology, allows discrimination of social structures which lie between, and often mediate, the individual and the collectivity, and offers a frame within which to examine the choices of social actors within one relatively bounded social structure. Thus, from within this perspective, researchers have demonstrated the consequence of analyzing the social structure of classroom situations as a "port of entry" to educational research. Studies of social structure combine with studies of social organization; these notions are explained by Sir Raymond Firth, who sees social structure as establishing precedents, providing and limiting the range of alternatives possible; correspondingly, social organization, involving individuals' choices about sets of possible actions, expresses variance in the systemic ordering

of social relations. Investigated jointly, social structure and social organization allow for comparison of student behaviors and perceptions in different types of school situations, for studies of teacher-student interaction, and, at a more inclusive level, for studies of the relation between schools and the communities in which they function.

Posed as mutually supportive bases to the study of education, rather than as conflicting alternatives, the perspectives we have discussed as well as several others enable the potentially felicitous conjunction of micro- and macro-analyses by anthropologists in education. Each perspective and the several together underscore the significance to studies of anthropology and education of combining objective and subjective comprehensions in research. This, in turn, speaks pointedly to the study of American society and to the study of processes and structures of education within the American context by a discipline which, above all, prides itself on its cross-cultural work.

We argue that many, if not all, theoretical approaches in anthropology may be of value to our understanding of education. But we would also maintain that the theorizing emanating from psychological anthropology, symbolic anthropology and social anthropology are demonstrably implemental in this undertaking. The point to be stressed, however, is not simply that some kinds of theory should be stressed and

supported over others but that theory and theory building has practical value for anthropologists in education. Like several other specializations in anthropology, the present state of anthropology and education can best be described as ethnographic, a growing corpus of rich, descriptive literature with only limited linkages to theory. If the specialization is to be truly effective and useful, it must build and develop on systematic theoretical foundations. Such development would have the additional, and not inconsiderable, benefit of wedding anthropology and education more closely to the central concerns of the discipline at large.

* * * * *

We turn now to the issue of how to promote the application of anthropological perspectives among educators. To focus the discussion, we put forward several admittedly exaggerated stereotypes, some held by educators and others by anthropologists. For example, it is sometimes posited that communication between the "real" world of education and the "jargon-ridden" discipline of anthropology is distorted; that educators, policy makers and practitioners alike, perceive anthropological studies of education as lacking "relevance" or "practicality" and, more often than not, that such studies focus on unrepresentative or "exotic" settings; that problems defined by educators only accidentally overlap with those defined by anthropologists; that educators do not understand the value of anthropology or that they perceive the discipline in simplistic terms, essentially a set of field techniques such as participant-observation which can be used with profit by anyone; and, that anthropologists consider the study of education as marginal to their central scholarly concerns.

Whatever their earlier prevalence, these notions and other similar ones no longer hold complete sway and more objective assessments are being made. Unfortunately, however, they still contain a residue of troublesome truth. Educators, as a category, have not fully comprehended nor fully integrated

anthropology into the educational enterprise, certainly not to the same degree as they have, for example, history, philosophy, psychology, and sociology; anthropologists, as a category, have made minimal effort to focus on education and its specific manifestations in the United States. This state of affairs is partly a function of the relatively recent entry of anthropology into the formal structures of American education, particularly into the schools of education, and partly a consequence of anthropology's long involvement with overseas research. Reasons aside, difficulties in the relationship between anthropology and education remain. In our judgment, the impetus for resolving these difficulties and for developing a mutually productive symbiosis must come from anthropology which should be able to demonstrate its utility to education not through preaching but through demonstration and accomplishment. What follows then are suggestions of some of the kinds and areas of anthropological activity, and inquiry which, if implemented or expanded, could well help to bridge the existing gap between the discipline of anthropology and the domain of education.

The physicist Werner Heisenberg described and labelled the "uncertainty principle": physicists are themselves part of the system they study and, in this, affect that system in

their very research endeavors; the measurements undertaken will dictate what can be known, but, in making one sort of measurement -- in collecting one sort of knowledge -- another, and equally valid set of measurements and knowledge is precluded. How much more this is so in a field where the practitioners study other human beings. It is awareness, indeed acute awareness, of such a principle of relative uncertainty, and, concomitantly, awareness of the need to establish and ascertain the archimedian point from which a scholar doing social science is working which may well be anthropology's most important, though often most exacting and most disillusioning, message to research in education.

We speak here of research formats which grant a place for both subjectivity and objectivity, which, in fact, insist on the necessity of mediating the two, and which postulate the uncovering and description of the researcher's own assumptions as a fundamental aspect of the investigation itself. In part, these objectives and procedures have already been incorporated in certain areas of educational work. Specifically, in the evaluation of educative programs, researchers and policy makers have acknowledged the importance of the evaluator's providing "formative" as well as "summative" reports. The evaluator no longer can be conceptualized as

even ideally standing apart from the group or program being assessed; rather, either formally or informally, evaluators themselves become part of a field situation which is their responsibility to assess. Concretely, such congruence of perspective in anthropological and educational research, is underscored by a fundamental similarity in their tasks and aims. Both the educator and the anthropologist observe behavior of people carrying out their everyday lives rather than of people in controlled, and often artificial, laboratory situations. Anthropology, more than its sibling social sciences, possesses a hard-earned methodology of field observation which, combining subjectivity and objectivity, is capable of considerable accuracy in generating and collecting qualitative data, a method and frame for comprehension which should be of the utmost benefit to educators and in the solution of educational problems.

Before such benefit can be properly realized, however, anthropologists must attend carefully to the real perplexities and predicaments of practicing educators and to the expediencies of the educational solution. This prerequisite, only fitfully carried out by anthropologists in education, necessitates a serious review of traditional modes of anthropological study and presentation. Such re-evaluation must focus not only on processes of data collection and analysis but equally on forms

through which anthropologists and educators can respond to the insights and dilemmas of the other thereby creating a feed-back designed to meet the common objective of rectifying problems.

The anthropological endeavor is facilitated through, and indeed heavily depends on, intensive communication and interchange with school and other educative personnel not simply in order to gain research entry but for understanding, defining and categorizing parameters of the problems with which individuals who work in these settings must deal. The key "problems" are not always obvious and definition of the basic conundrums often most efficiently emerge through the shared understandings of researchers, teachers and administrators.

The difficulties or conflicts which beset the educational institution, including problems stemming from the relations between the institution and the wider community frequently provide educators with other comprehensions of their situations. Insofar as school personnel or students are social actors, embedded within the larger school context, they have specific perspectives and, often, intense and particularistic concerns, and are thus liable to frame their understandings through their individual relations to the situation and to other social actors. While encouraging the shifting and broadening of the social

actors' frames of reference, anthropologists, in working with school personnel, in sharing understandings, and in refining and re-directing understandings in light of those held by the other, can simultaneously enhance their own attempts to contextualize descriptions of roles and activities within the school as well as the underlying, often conflicting, assumptions among various sectors of the school population. Such a relationship also has the not incidental value of creating objective conditions for making the work and product of the anthropologist more directly meaningful and relevant to the practicing educator and to the institution of education at large.

Utilizing the perspective of close articulation with practicing educators, anthropological approaches can be of particular utility in mitigating, if not resolving difficulties in several areas or levels of educational environments and activities. In such a listing, high priority would be given to the classroom, particularly interactions among students and between teachers and students; the several interfaces between the school and the larger community; administrative tasks and functioning; and, the evaluation of innovative educational programs. Anthropologists, particularly during the last decade, have paid some attention to the first two categories and have begun to work on topics related to the

latter two but more systematic and theoretically sophisticated research is necessary, research that would have immediate meaning to the educator.

Within these areas and levels, an extremely wide choice of specific research problems is available, limited only by the theoretical interests and practical concerns of the researcher. For example, an anthropologist concerned with the relationship of school to the larger community could well focus on the delineation of social processes and the links between apparently separate aspects of these processes. So posed, the task of research would be multifaceted and might aim at demarcating and analyzing the explicit structure of the educative institution, including its roles and domains of activity and their connections to each other; the relation of individual social actors to their place in the larger whole and to other persons with other roles and activities, which would entail considering factors which may not be directly constructed nor enacted within the school but rather within the wider social field; and, the forms and processes through which social actors (whether students, teachers, administrators or parents) define and re-define their situations and attempt to act and to negotiate within those situations in light of their respective comprehensions of what is "out there."

For many years, anthropology tended to concentrate on delineating aspects of social structure and organization. With the relatively recent swelling of research effort in urban and complex social settings, theoretical perspectives shifted as well. Increasingly, emphasis has been placed on the examination of change and process, and in that, of contrasting and contradictory aspects of social orders. Characterizations of the normal workings of implicit structures of educative environments are of obvious use to education in that the delineation of organizational forms allows self-conscious awareness of them for educators and thus enables specification of interrelations between social actors and of domains of activity. However, of potentially greater value to educator and anthropologist alike, is research attuned to the recognition and study of conflict and to the portrayal and analysis of events of crisis.

While not unique in experiencing critical moments of exigency, even emergency, the recent history of American education does indeed seem unusually beset with clusters of interrelated crises. The New York City teachers strike in 1968, the issue of busing in Boston and other cities, instances of violence within schools and among school children are only several particularly trenchant examples. While these events have inspired myriad journalistic accounts and popular

reports, serious attention to them by anthropologists and other social scientists has been almost nil. This neglect is to be deplored not only because an opportunity for aiding a beleaguered educational system and for helping to formulate future processes of American education is being missed but also because such attention could be of inestimable value to sociological and anthropological understandings and theory. It is so frequently at moments of crisis that the basic nature of a society is revealed, framed through the terms and activities of conflict. And it is at such moments and through such events that contradictions are brought into focused play and the possibilities for future activity and structure are determined. Such critical moments both reveal and work as a hinge between that which was and that which will emerge, between present and future modes of life.

In delineating and analyzing the immediate history and processes of events surrounding crisis, anthropological research can encourage perception of fundamental contradictions and of undergirding social forms which actors, embedded in crises as they act them out, may not perceive. Anthropologists can pinpoint similarities and differences in conceptualizations and behaviors of antagonistic groups and individuals. Often, what social actors take to be similarities emerge as differences; often, what are perceived as differences emerge as differences which, as Gregory Bateson has put it, do not make

a difference. Because "reality" is framed when it is disputed, the variant stresses which individuals and groups give to aspects of their realities become more intense and more patent. For the anthropologist, studies of situations of crisis enhance the ability to recognize and study non-surface realities. Furthermore, the insights gained through those times and in those places where events of obvious significance occur speak to the character of the social order as it appears in the more "normal" course of things. Events of the New York City teachers strike stand as a startling, if unblest, enactment of hostilities and oppositions which had defined and which continue to define contexts and processes of education in the City. The antagonisms between parents and teachers, conflicts between various definitions of learning or of society, opposing stances and perspectives which emerged with clarity during the strike can be related to a large set of less dramatic everyday life problems which harry parents, school personnel and students.

The flexibility inherent in anthropological methodology permits the study of everyday life and of critical conjectures. Understandings gained in each of these contexts can inform comprehension of the other. In large part, we have not yet realized the value and use of research in both everyday life

educational contexts and in contexts framed as unusual and out of the ordinary. Analyses resulting from the study of crises in education and in schools address encompassing and quotidian problems as well as those defining the moment of upheaval. In short, the systematic study of educational crises, for both its practical and theoretical benefit, is strongly recommended.

The more qualitative work of anthropology brings a needed dimension to the almost completely quantitative studies of psychology, sociology and economics carried out in the domain of education. We grant that social scientists, occasionally even anthropologists, have gone far in the study of problems and comparisons in education through the use of quantitative methods. A plethora of tests and studies, carefully designed and evaluated have demonstrated, among many things, that American children often graduate from high school unable to read or that teacher responses and perceptions have critical consequences for students' learning processes or that college graduates are not uniformly equipped to understand the morning newspaper. Such research, to a certain degree, has outlined the gross, objective conditions of American education. But there has been relatively less success in articulating why children -- and then adults -- cannot read or perform successfully in educative situations and in illuminating how children

can be taught to read and to perform successfully.

To some extent quantitative research and science are objective, though most would concede that statistics can, and do, lie. However, knowing that children cannot read, even on the basis of extremely reliable tests, cannot tell us what to do about that fact. It is precisely because such research aims at maximum objectivity that it reaches its limit in providing the facts of the case. Problem solvers and policy makers have traditionally taken and continue to take the results of objective tests and then, in applying common sense to the data at hand, often we might add informed common sense, generate possible solutions and policies. We suggest that research which seeks to investigate the assumptions and values behind behavior and research that is consciously intended to place the researcher inside the system under study, goes one significant step farther in that it becomes the necessary partner to more quantitative modes of study.

Were people chess pieces and were social orders chess boards, the task of understanding would be simpler. It would be enough, indeed it would be possible, to describe the color pattern and the relation of the pieces to each other and to the board in order to comprehend the game. But they are not; people recapitulate and reinterpret the past as they anticipate

the future. They combine vast sets of variously interrelated and effective influences in becoming who they are. Johnny has certain notions about why he cannot read. Or perhaps, though it is unlikely, he does not know he cannot read; if so, that would itself be significant. Johnny has an understanding, often not fully articulated, of what it means to be a student, to learn to read, and to actually read. And so do his teachers. We must know these things as much as we must know the basic dilemma of Johnny's illiteracy, for these understandings and definitions of the situation have given rise to Johnny's deficiency and, equally, they inform and sustain that situation.

Anthropology, part of the social order in which it is created and expounded (like anthropologists who are joined to the social actors they observe) is an inherently political activity. This does not mean that anthropological analyses cannot be carefully reasoned and conducted, academically informed and methodologically sophisticated; they must be all these, if they are to be of any value at all. Further, there is room and need within anthropology for the creative use of quantitative techniques, techniques developed from within or borrowed and adapted from neighboring sciences. But the final testing cannot be done on score cards nor through systems models. This can occur only in a world where people

actually live. In abstracting from reality the anthropologist, like other social scientists, selects some parts for study. The crucial step, succeeding this abstraction, entails the re-examination of abstractions against concrete behaviors and activities. At another level, this procedure is conceptually similar to one long employed by those formulating action programs and by those responsible for policy implementation. A program or a policy is right, if it works. Obviously, what it means "to work" is itself vital and should be part and parcel of projected policies and blueprints for social reform or alteration. More than evaluation, it is a research task uniquely suited to the interests and strengths of anthropology.

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Anthropology, like all academic disciplines, is a creature of its time. While a substantial part of the discipline may not perceive it in this manner, a series of recent historical events and accidents has accelerated the discipline's need to clarify, strengthen, value and expand its inputs to application to problems affecting the life of human beings. And in consequence, we must consider anew the processes entailed in "becoming an anthropologist" and, more specifically, in "becoming an anthropologist in education." As an attempt to do this, it might be well to remember Sir Edward Burnett Tylor's 19th century dictum in his monumental study Primitive Culture that "active at once in aiding progress and in removing hindrance, the science of culture is essentially a reformer's science."

At this point in the discipline's development, we must temper our claims about the utility of anthropology to education, with the aim not of disillusionment, but of indicating differences and shifts in the education anthropologists receive and, concomitantly, variations and alterations in their ability to carry out applied research of consequence to practitioners and policy makers. Customarily anthropologists have neglected applied work to a secondary, sometimes even despised position with the discipline. Although persuasive reasons have been provided for the curious and quite un-

scientific dichotomization, we could argue that the dichotomization itself, reflects only a surface reality, and that even that, given the urgencies of the times, is rapidly dissipating. If one interprets application broadly, it is clear that the vast majority of all contemporary anthropologists have been professionally involved with practical matters, if only as lecturers providing anthropological perspectives to potential practitioners of other disciplines and professions. Many, of course, have contributed in very direct and dramatic ways in the development and implementation of a wide variety of programs and policies, often without considering themselves applied anthropologists.

In education itself, academic anthropological interest runs surprisingly high. Since its inception in 1968, the Council on Anthropology and Education, which has played a vital role in the increasing visibility of the specialization, has maintained a membership in excess of 1200, including a significantly large proportion of the entire discipline. Its rapidly expanding journal, Anthropology and Education Quarterly, provides a forum for the various currents within the specialization as well as an efficient mechanism for communication. Symposia and sessions organized by the Council or by individual scholars on educationally-related

issues have almost become standard fare at international meetings of the American Anthropological Association, the Society for Applied Anthropology, and the several regional societies. In fact, in recent years, the number of papers given on some aspect of education at major meetings are not uncommonly the plurality, exceeding those on more traditional subject matter. Well over a hundred individuals list anthropology and education as one of their specialties in the Guide to Departments of Anthropology and many more subsume this interest under more prosaic labels such as applied anthropology, socialization, psychological anthropology, and sociocultural change. There can be little doubt that the pool of disciplinarians interested in and often working on educational issues is substantial and growing.

Almost paradoxically, professional anthropologists based in schools of education number only several score. Some of these institutions have no anthropological presence at all; a majority of those that do have only a single representative; only a small minority include two or more on their faculties. Contrast this situation with the relatively large number of psychologists, sociologists, historians and other disciplinarians to be found in almost all these institutions. Obviously, there is sufficient historical reason in explanation of this interdisciplinary imbalance. Nevertheless, in this particularly

trying period when anthropological skills can be profitably employed in education, we are forced to consider this situation as anomalous and counterproductive. In essence, despite relatively large numbers of anthropologists interested in education scattered throughout the American university system, there appears to be no critical mass of fully-trained anthropologists in the schools of education, the very institutions that should be mounting the new theory and innovative methodology of the specialization. The notion of critical mass is central to the problem. In most schools of education with anthropological representation, the principal function of the single anthropologist is to provide service courses, to introduce relevant anthropological perspectives to fledgling practitioners in education. In this setting, given the distinctive nature of anthropological field work and with little or no opportunity for intradisciplinary fertilization, the probability of a significant build up of research is minimal. In the handful of schools that have developed a nucleus of identifiable anthropologists, the demands are more complex and strenuous. Besides carrying out the necessary and useful service functions, these units normally undertake the training of anthropologists of education often to the doctoral level and are, further, expected to conduct field defining and pertinent research. Without adequate density

of numbers so as to be able to at least rotate staff into the field, the attainment of the multifaceted objectives of such units face extraordinarily difficult obstacles. In our opinion, a minimum of five or six anthropologists with complementary skills would be necessary for a truly effective unit of this kind. As we see it, the problem faced is not the lack of interested and available personnel in anthropology but the present distribution and utilization of anthropologists within our professional schools of education and the wider domain of education.

It is simple to draw attention to the existence of trained anthropologists of education, it is quite another matter to deal with differences in and quality of that training. Although responsibility for preparing anthropologists in the United States has traditionally rested with the graduate departments of anthropology, several professional schools of education are now providing training opportunities for specialists in anthropology and education. These alternative programs have no parallel in any other specialty in social or cultural anthropology: medical anthropologists, for example, are not trained in medical schools; legal and political anthropologists are not the responsibility of law schools, departments of political science, or schools of international affairs; and, economic anthropologists are not certified

as economic anthropologists by departments of economics or schools of business. This unique alternative for anthropology in education was almost certainly not engendered by anthropology but resulted from changes in the schools of education themselves particularly with the emergence of disciplinary and multidisciplinary units often out of more traditional social foundations departments.

Whatever the specific reasons, each of the few anthropology programs functioning in schools of education developed a character and direction of its own over time, to a point where considerable difference now exists between them with regard to curriculum and philosophy of training. One active program, for instance, prefers in-coming graduate students with a strong background and even advanced degree in education and then offers these students what it considers an appropriate blend of anthropology en route to the doctorate in anthropology in education; another program opts for students with a substantial background in social science and then moves them through a sequence of linked courses in anthropology in tandem with what it considers an appropriate blend of education courses en route to its doctorate. Each model has its differential strengths for the training of anthropologists of education; each has its weaknesses. And, conceptually,

between these two models stand several others. In any case, anthropology programs based at schools of education are only now beginning to provide doctorates in any numbers; the bulk of practicing anthropologists of education have received their training in a more traditional manner at graduate departments of anthropology.

There are good and sufficient reasons why anthropology programs of quality, set in schools of education, should be maintained and strengthened. It would not be extreme to suggest that the blooming of not a thousand but a half-dozen flowers in the form of viable educational anthropology programs not only is not an encumbrance or an extravagance but a most positive benefit to education and to the discipline. We note with appreciation that such programs in schools of education are embedded in an extremely fruitful environment for training and socializing students in the application of the discipline to educational and other "real world" problems. For the attainment of these purposes, the ambience of the typical graduate department of anthropology is considerably less effective and, at times, even deleterious. It should also be stressed that properly functioning programs in anthropology and education offer the most promising springboard for the development and organization of the educational anthropology of the future.

Although we have agreed that several paths can be taken in developing competent anthropologists of education and that several models for training may well produce positive results, we must still delineate what could be considered the indispensable ingredients of all such programs. Firstly, there should be little disagreement that graduates of programs in anthropology and education should not be middle-level technicians but thoroughly trained anthropologists. Their preparation should include exposure to and competence in pertinent anthropological theory; exposure to and understanding of current educational issues and practice; the development of practical skills of initiating and implementing research and action programs, as well as communicating results and ideas across disciplinary and professional boundaries.

Secondly, if graduates are trained anthropologists, they should be acknowledged as such by their peers in the discipline at large. Without such status parity, any existing gap between anthropology and education and the so-called mainstream of the discipline widens with pernicious results for both. More pragmatically, the miniscule anthropological faculties at schools of education cannot even pretend to provide all the thorough and time-consuming training necessary for a doctorate in anthropology and education. Consequently, anthropology and education programs need to create, if they do not already

exist, to maintain, and to strengthen their ties with their respective university graduate departments of anthropology. While maintaining administrative autonomy, they cannot and should not exist in disciplinary isolation. Such bonds, rather than constricting, secure and elevate academic standards of excellence; offer easy access for program students to specialized but necessary subject matter available only in the larger disciplinary setting; and, quite vitally, foster integration and articulation of the specialist in anthropology and education with all anthropologists. A growing cohesion does not drive the initiate into a closed disciplinary camp and away from education. Quite to the contrary, it assures the possibility of the best academic preparation for those individuals who choose the arduous and often frustrating career of basic or applied research in domains and subject matter distant from "normal" university-bound pursuits. Although almost a truism, it bears noting that the work of and responsibility carried by the applied anthropologist, and we would place almost all educational anthropologists in this category, necessitates that he receive, but generally does not, a more thorough preparation than that of his more traditional academic colleagues.

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In this report, we dealt with what we considered the important issues facing specialists in anthropology and education. Our discussions of these issues make clear our own broad preferences as to which paths should be taken in the future to increase the value of the specialization. A summing up, however, including some specific suggestions for concrete steps that should be considered, is still necessary. On this we turn to recommendations which could lead to the development of the organizational and material base needed for realizing the more theoretical and methodological suggestions made above.

We view the future of educational anthropology with optimism -- despite the recent escalation of economic and social pressures on American education. The potential of the specialization for enriching the work of parent discipline and education alike, we would maintain, has just begun to be appreciated by both. Obviously, obstacles exist, some of them of consequence, which impede the realization of this potential. With this perspective, which we believe is realistic, the recommendations which follow concentrate on ways to deal with two amorphous conditions which loosely encompass many of the issues previously discussed. Left unattended, they complicate and jeopardize the future of

educational anthropology. The first is the rudimentary theoretical development and unevenness of quality in current anthropological work in education, a condition that erodes the readiness and ability for serious new effort; the second is the inefficient utilization of anthropologists interested in education, a condition which erodes the possibilities and opportunities for serious new effort. If these two conditions can be ameliorated to any significant degree, positive effects on most other problems confronting educational anthropology would follow, not the least of which would be on the perception of "pure" anthropologists about participation in education-related activities and on the receptiveness of educators to utilize and integrate anthropology and anthropologists in their work.

I. In the organization of the specialization, we strongly recommend support and development of the best of the now functioning educational anthropology programs in schools of education. They are the only logical pivot to connect discipline to domain as well as the obvious wellspring of research and training in anthropology and education. In the near future, we expect that no more than three or four of these programs would or should be supported. Ideally, they would require

staffing at higher levels than presently exist; fellowship support for a limited number of graduate students; and seed funds for initiating long-term disciplinary research and for involvement with interdisciplinary projects. We suggest that this could be facilitated through the following mechanisms:

- (a) The creation of a modest national fellowship program which would provide support for no more than fifteen or twenty graduate students annually. Selection should be competitive and based on merit, with fellowships allocated proportionally to functioning educational anthropology programs. These fellowships would assure a small but steady flow of well-prepared competent and motivated students into the specialization as well as assuring continuity and development of training programs and research. Included in these fellowships should be sufficient funds for early field work for the fellows, of probably no more than three months duration, after the first graduate year of study. This opportunity and requirement would pay an enormous dividend in the later stages of training and in the directions the student will take in his professional career.

(b) The creation of a modest program which would permit the utilization of competent anthropologists outside of the schools of education on an ad hoc, adjunct or visiting basis in functioning educational anthropology programs. These anthropologists are presently available at university departments of anthropology or at nearby institutions and could be utilized for the teaching of occasional courses, for a full semester, or for an academic year. The costs would be kept minimal but the long-term impact on the specialization could well be profound.

(c) The functioning programs in educational anthropology should be encouraged to move towards closer and more intimate cooperation. Even with the limited funds now available, we conceive of a program which would facilitate an exchange of scholars between these programs on a semester or academic year basis which would require only travel and relocation costs. Such interchanges, which could well involve the occasional advanced graduate student, may do little for creating a critical mass of scholars at any particular place but would provide absolutely im-

perative infusions of new ideas and perspectives into hitherto isolated units of disciplinarians. Following the same reasoning, the development of loose networks of educational schools with anthropological programs or representation should be promoted. These confederations, based on proximity, could provide anthropological resources of considerable magnitude to its members, much of which is normally unavailable to the single, completely independent institution. The larger and more viable educational anthropology programs might well serve as nodes in such networks.

- (d) We believe that high priority must be given to the development of a capability in educational anthropology for examining recurring crises and conflicts in American education. Ideally, a small task force based in one of the active educational anthropology programs involved in conflict theory and methodology should be fostered. This group should have the necessary academic and logistical capacity for deploying scholars to those places and situations which warrant, on theoretical grounds, immediate investigation. The systematic analysis and comparison of data collected at carefully selected crises points could prove one of the most valuable sources

for understanding and dealing with contemporary problems in American education.

- (e) We suggest the initiation of planning for an institute of advanced studies in anthropology and education. In the coming years, when we look forward to a number of functioning educational anthropology programs, several special units or task forces, and an increasing volume of focused research, the value of such an institute will be great. This institute would draw together scholars of promise and renown, provide opportunities for the refinement of theory and methodology, serve as the center for post-doctoral studies, and as a forum for the interdisciplinary investigation of education. The actual establishment of such an institute at this point in the development of the specialization would be premature, but planning now for the future is essential.

II. The task of improving the quality and developing the theoretical bases of educational anthropology includes a number of factors. Among these we would include the need for deliberate and formal raising of standards of work; the public acknowledgment of superior productivity; and, directions for profitable

lines of inquiry and research. With these dimensions in mind, we offer the following recommendations:

- (a) Educational anthropology has earned the right to be considered a serious disciplinary specialization. We believe it imperative, therefore, that where they do not already exist, competent, objective peer reviews be instituted at national agencies and private foundations which fund research of this kind. Competent review and selection of research guarantees the development of quality and growth. Funding agencies must fully assume or clearly delegate responsibility for elevating anthropological research in education to more sophisticated and useful levels. They must judge that the objectives of proposed research clearly are related to problems understood by educators to be problems in education and, of equal importance, that the theoretical and attendant methodological bases of proposed studies are sound and relevant. It cannot be overstressed that without explicit linkages to theory, we doom ourselves to lifeless descriptions of particular settings and specific situations and deny ourselves the opportunity of comparison and meaningful generalization.

- (b) At this stage in the development of the specialization, it is important that recognition be given to and interest focused on current works of quality and worth. Therefore, we recommend the establishment of a biennial award, under the auspices of the National Academy of Education, entitled the Edgar L. Hewett Prize in Anthropology and Education. This prize would guarantee the early publication of the work selected within a series format.
- (c) In terms of theory and problem focus, we urge that high priority be given to anthropological studies of education and the educational process in mainstream America. We draw particular attention to the need for systematic research in the inner cities of the nation and the fact that anthropology is uniquely prepared and equipped to undertake meaningful research in such settings.
- (d) We further urge that high priority be given to the examination of crisis and conflict in educational settings. Not only will such studies illuminate the specifics of revealing cases but provide one of the more useful of the several theoretical bridges between anthropology as social science and the more practical world of education.

- (e) Finally, we urge investing in anthropological and interdisciplinary research which focuses on those several broad social and structural factors which influence and condition the American institution of education. Without the contexts provided by macro-social science, micro-studies become less valuable and useful.

It is our opinion that much if not all of what has been recommended can be achieved -- and without recourse to substantial new funding. With careful and rational planning by agencies and foundations, the present funds available from all sources to educational anthropology can be re-targeted and re-allocated. If this can be accomplished with guidance from the National Academy of Education, we firmly believe that the contribution of educational anthropology to the process of American education in the years to come can be of considerable, if not pivotal, significance.

COMMENTARY ON AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW
OF
ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION: A BIBLIOGRAPHIC GUIDE

Jacquetta Hill Burnett

Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education

A number of different types of analyses of the sources in the Bibliography on Anthropology and Education can, of course, be done. An analysis in terms of alternative categorical schema that will eventually be used to provide an index to the volume is in progress but still incomplete. Since such an analysis requires considerably more thought and time than can be immediately devoted to the project, a more fundamental yet necessary approach has been taken. In fact, the historical analysis offered here of the subfield of anthropology and education is particularly apt; the field now seems ripe for significant critical examination of the chronological development of ideas, concepts, and theories that are reflected in the contributions named in this bibliography. While further logical analysis of these conceptual developments will be done in the near future, here we only characterize general historical developments in the field. We are thus attempting to review the empirical and conceptual contributions of scholars that have led to the establishment of a new subfield of anthropology.

A selected bibliography is a biased sample. We have been quite clear about the nature of this bias with respect to the exclusion of extensive references in two areas, the area of culture and personality and also in the area of anthropology as curriculum material to be used at the elementary, secondary, and university levels of education institutions. In essence, then, we have included the rest of the literature in anthropology and education, that on cultural transmission and education provided by anthropologists and by others using anthropological theory and methods. A full characterization

of the field thus requires a combined analysis of the three areas. Even now that development seems to be in process with the bibliographic work on each of the sections being done by a different person. When the resulting bibliographies are combined and critically interrelated, we submit that such will bring the subfield to a new threshold of empirical and conceptual vitality.

At any one time a measure of the vitality of a field is the difficulty bibliographers experience in completing a bibliography before a notable number of new and positive contributions to the field are published. In our case this happened, and we found that we could not keep up with the rapid appearance of significant new articles. For example, two articles were published by Fred Gearing, et al., during 1973 that were directly addressed to the theoretical development of the field. The articles appeared, however, after we had completed the final draft of the manuscript. There were other contributions of significance that suffered the same fate, we regret to say. Had we been able to use some of the new natural language computer programs now available along with already available computers, these last minute additions easily could have been made in the photo ready copy.¹

¹We feel just such a project is a desirable one for encouraging substantial conceptual development of the subfield. The author is now tentatively exploring various possible ways by which this rapid "updating" might be performed for future editions of the Bibliography on Anthropology and Education.

Most importantly, the continuous translation of scholarly activity into new publications in the area of Anthropology and Education is a clear indicator that the field is now well-established as a legitimate area of inquiry. The appearance of reviews of the field in 1973 in the Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology and in the Annual Review of Anthropology is also a clear sign of the status of the field within anthropology. Thus, as we turn to an overview of the history of the development of this area of inquiry, we can do so with a confidence that there will be a group of scholars in anthropology as well as in education who will continue to carry on research and development of knowledge in this area.

Simple Chronological Description of Published Materials
and The Conceptual and Empirical Developments That They Reflect

The earliest entry in the bibliography was written in the 1800's. There are in fact many nineteenth century works which describe indigenous cultural characteristics; some are empirical descriptive accounts of educational processes and others are based on historical documents such as those describing Pre-Colombian civilizations at the time of contact with Spanish priests. They do not have a great deal of scholarly depth but nevertheless are significant in that they demonstrate early interest in descriptive accounts of education and the processes of cultural transmission from the infancy of anthropology as an official discipline. In addition, these works illustrate the fact that the informal/formal distinction has been used since the first decade of this century in discussing education in primitive as well as modern societies. The comparative method tended to be used casually, however, and was largely based on intuition and generalized observation when modern societies were discussed. Finally, comparisons tended to be dichotomous; that is, given a particular society classified as primitive or tribal, one made observations about how primitive societies contrasted with modern societies.

It is interesting to observe that both Boas and Montessori began publishing on education in the same decade, the second decade of this century. The anthropological writings of this period for the most part placed heavy emphasis on experience and learning in contradistinction to a tendency of the period to use heredity as an explanatory concept for regularized behaviors; behavior patterns that might be called cultural in an anthropological frame

were often called racial or national when the other mode of explanation was being invoked. The materials during the second decade of the century often included descriptive accounts of what then were called circumcision schools, or initiation rites as formal means of instruction. Thus anthropologists were already intrigued by the relationship between formalized education, including formal schools, and the developments in tribal societies of the initiation ceremonies. However, the accounts tended to be descriptive, and the theoretical explanations were rather low level and ad hoc.

In the third decade of the century, the 1920's, one begins to note an intensified interest in the question of which conceptual processes were used by primitive man and in the further question of whether those processes, including perceptual processes, were distinctive in any way or were like those of modern man. Levy-Bruhl proposed the thesis that there was such a thing as a primitive mentality that survived into modern societies but was distinctive from the dominant mode of modern civilization. Paul Radin responded to this with the notion of the primitive philosopher using similar kinds of logic, logical problem-solving devices, and abstract procedures as does modern man. Also during this period the shaman clearly came to be regarded as the first formally instructed professional in the history of human culture; there were descriptions of the shaman's training, his apprenticeship and selection on the basis of individual characteristics.

The 1930's not only was marked by a burgeoning of anthropological literature, but also was clearly an exciting decade for the development of anthropological interest in education. This interest grew in a particular intellectual

climate, for this was also the formative decade for psychological anthropology, illustrated primarily by culture and personality studies. We have not included in our bibliography references that are strictly culture and personality in their emphasis, although many authors whom we have included from that decade clearly were active in that movement within anthropology. Moreover, during this decade, perhaps because the study of education was still regarded as a subpart of or an ancillary question to the whole culture and personality issue, there is no evident self-conscious rationalization for having the temerity to explore questions of education and culture transmission. This is also, of course, a period during which there was active resistance to the notion that transmission of ideas had significant effect on the course of the development and evolution of human culture.

During the 1930's some particularly exciting works emerged in anthropology and education. Two articles by British anthropologists will long stand as signal contributions, one by L. Firth on Education in Tikopia and the other by M. Fortes about education among the Tallensi. In the latter Fortes presents not only interesting descriptive data but also excellent conceptual schema for considering education and culture transmission in theoretical terms. Margaret Mead also reported her work on Samoa during this decade. She was a key figure during this period in the anthropological study of education and contributed many articles that dealt directly with formal education, usually contrasting it with primitive modes. Also, this decade saw the emergence of an "applied" anthropology of education based on an interest in cultures in contact. In this context Wist argued that modern education should

not be imposed on indigenous cultures, if at all, without exceeding care about the negative effects it was having on the lives of individuals involved.

We have additionally included in the bibliography a number of references to chapters and sections of general ethnographies that incorporate very interesting data on the ethnography of education in various cultural systems. Our efforts are by no means exhaustive, but those works that we have included in the bibliography clearly suggest that a major effort should be made in the future to retrieve more information that is now imbedded in general ethnographies; such data could be collected as a general body of factual accounts of educational processes. Ethnographic fact could then be used in the mode of the cross-cultural area files to test certain hypotheses and generalized concepts and phenomena in education and culture transmission. The impression one has of the 1930's is that it is an exceedingly exciting decade for laying the groundwork for what would subsequently become the likely subfield of anthropology and education. However, it was followed by the war decade, the 1940's, and thus showed signs of interruption. The momentum that had been built up in this decade nevertheless continued to bear fruit in the 1940's.

The 1940's was characterized by the clear development of certain key domains of interest. There was increasing attention to education as one of the processes that occur between cultures in contact. The interest of British anthropologists in culture contact situations generated increasing use of structural-functional assumptions, hence the popularity of educational studies that were said to demonstrate the validity of this theoretical view of the relationships between education and culture, particularly non-Western "exotic"

cultures. Another important domain of interest in the 1940's was the relationship between the individual and his culture. This focus logically emerged from the overlap between culture and personality studies and studies in the processes of culture transmission. We will not here go into the tautological relationship among assumptions which equated the acquisition of personality with the acquisition of culture. This theoretical view nevertheless directed the attention of anthropologists, particularly psychological anthropologists and others interested in culture transmission, to the relationships between individuals and their cultures.

The decade of the 1950's saw the emergence of some important new concepts. Herskovits worked out his formulation for conceptualizing enculturation or culture transmission, education, schooling, and socialization. Also during this period Sapir was writing on language and personality and discussing questions of the relationship of language to culture transmission and personality. Still, the decade saw no exciting theoretical developments in the field. Structural-functionalism continued to be a frame or set of assumptions used for interpreting descriptive data; as a corollary, the theoretical boundaries equating the acquisition of personality and culture transmission tended to dominate the subfield and were almost completely incorporated into culture and personality studies. While there might have been the potential for theory development, this clearly appears to be a phase that Thomas Kuhn would have called the pre-paradigm stage. Everyone had his pet notions, and many conceptualizations were ad hoc.

The most significant trend of the decade, however, was in regard to the

prestige, even the legitimacy, of anthropology and education. There was still an implicit if not explicit self-conscious, apologetic tone in anthropological studies of education. It is perhaps during the 1950's that the politics of the professions with which the disciplines were associated impinged upon the development of new fields within anthropology. Certain areas and questions were respectable and scholarly; others were not. Education apparently during this decade still was one of those areas of investigation that was not respectful. In this intellectual climate one can perhaps understand a related trend of the relationships among scholars. There was almost no evidence of careful comparison of other scholars' findings or discussions revolving around or attacking a particularly controversial question. It was a time not only of descriptive study but also of a kind of isolation of each scholar's mind relative to his own work. This perspective should not be misunderstood. It does not mean that scholars were not listening to each other's papers or referring to one another. It does, however, mean that analytical critical debates about one another's proposed ideas were still not salient aspects of professional communication. Despite the quasi-isolation of individuals working in the field, during the middle 1950's a second conference on Education and Anthropology was called at Stanford University, this time guided by George Spindler. Reflected in that conference was the intense effort to establish regular communication between anthropologists on the one hand and faculty in professional schools of education on the other. By the end of the decade, Educational Anthropology was clearly emerging as legitimate, having experienced its rites de passage and many of the pubertal growing pains of a new subfield.

Before turning to a review of developments in the 1960's, we should briefly note areas that appeared or received particular emphasis during the 1950's and continued to influence the course of Educational Anthropology. We have already noted that structural-functionalism in a social anthropological perspective was generally used as the basic interpretive schema for those studies that did not use a personality or psychoanalytically oriented conceptual framework. Not only did the report on ethnographies of cultural schema for formal and informal transmission processes in exotic cultures continue, but one began to see the first appearance of ethnographic accounts of modern schools; while these accounts were focused in North America, a small trickle of studies from modern schools in other areas of the world began to appear in the late 1950's. The notion of culture of the school was introduced but was mainly used without well-conceived explication of its meaning. Also, in the United States one finds the influence of sociology of education. The anthropological method of participant observation influenced sociological studies of modern formal educational institutions; this influence was felt mainly in research on secondary schools, since it coincided with the growing interest in adolescence generally in the social sciences. Finally, the forerunner of development anthropology and education was illustrated by the theme increasingly included in the accounts of schools and other cultures, i.e., a focus on the gap between traditional education and western educational procedures and content. In this context, there was a growing tendency to view schools as devices for reform, social intervention and social change in the direction of economic development and modernization.

The keynote of the 1960's really began in the late 1950's when scholars began finally to show a critical awareness of other scholars' theoretical statements and began to engage in critique and contrapuntal presentations. These tended not to be presented out of elegant theoretical paradigms but instead tended to show a myriad of piecemeal concepts that were subjected to critical scholarly examination. Thus, Margaret Mead again critically examined the concepts of enculturation and socialization and advocated their contrastive use. Early in the decade there appeared an important book by Goodenough on applied anthropology. Although its significance went unrecognized until the latter part of the decade, it cast the shadow of a new paradigm onto the questions of the nature of culture transmission and culture. In the meantime, the significant theme of the Goodenough applied anthropology text to education was in community development. This paralleled the continuing interest in the interrelationships among education, culture change, and economic development. At this time a number of articles in comparative education began to seriously examine the cultural dimensions and variables of national systems of education. Simultaneously, the interest in cross-cultural transaction in education emerged from the well-established inquiry into acculturation in anthropology. George Spindler, in particular, forcefully related acculturation and personality concepts to education. As a result of this sort of thinking, a new framework began to emerge, a framework that depended more on cognitive theories than on behavioral and affective theories of growth. Many authors began to address themselves directly to the question of how schools influenced characteristics of mental processes in various cultures.

During this period there were several cross-cultural studies utilizing the Human Relations Area Files. This interest was set in motion by the early use of these files to test out propositions concerning child training practices, but they soon also served as the data base for studies of other phenomena such as games, initiation rites, and ceremonies. Indeed, it was clear that they could be utilized to test out questions based on structural-functional assumptions, and they began to be so used.

Another dominant interest in the 1960's was the education of ethnic groups, subcultural peoples, and minority populations. Thus, anthropologists began to discuss the education of Mexican Americans and American Indians with a new intensity, focusing on the educational institutions themselves. At the same time the notion of cultural disadvantage and deficiency became popular within educational circles, particularly within educational psychology. Cultural disadvantage in many studies actually could be translated into a linguistic disadvantage. Fortunately at the same time magnificent development in the area of linguistics provided a new tack from which anthropologists could attack the notion of cultural and linguistic deprivation. The ethnography of communication in this instance could be translated into research on dialects of languages and subcultures and ethnic cultures as they functioned not only in schools, but also in their "home bases."

The Harvard based comparative study of six cultures mainly focused on the comparative and controlled study of child rearing practices but included as well an examination of the early school years. This was a significant new development in relating formal education specifically to child rearing practices.

Also occurring during this period was an intense discussion of anthropological methodology; its use was clearly recommended, for example, by Kimball for the use in data collection connected with educational studies. These recommendations were made in the teeth of hard line methodological insistence on data collection procedures that allowed statistical analyses of a rather extraordinary and sophisticated sort. One important instance of the success of anthropological methodology even in this climate of opposition, was the use of anthropological kinds of methodologies to study higher educational institutions.

Clearly the field by the late sixties was ready for the increased sophistication of comparative perspective. Throughout the decade scholars had been moving beyond the simple process of sampling societies that do and do not illustrate certain characteristics; they were now beginning to use cross-cultural comparison to examine determinant relationships among characteristics such as the relationship of household type to puberty rites and level of societal complexity. Another fruition of early development was the work in bilingual/bicultural education in relationship to ethnicity and as a result, a more sophisticated understanding emerged of what was involved in cultural maintenance and cultural pluralism. This was also a period of reexamination not just of the culture gap between native systems of education and transmission in formal schools but also a careful examination of formal education's role as a device of colonialism and imperialism. Thus, the understanding of culture transmission was being increasingly related to the theories of power, subordination and domination.

Scholars also began to note that Western culture content was being spread

around the world via development educational programs. Thus they took the well-established question of culture antinomy between native education and Western schooling and began to critically examine educational content. The new ethnomethodologies were particularly helpful here and were also applied to the question of coding of social relationships.

The themes of the literature in 1970 and 1971 can be broken down in the following way: strong, common, new efforts at theoretical developments; no longer merely ad hoc conceptualizations; examinations of the processes of formal education of ethnic groups and subcultural peoples, but with particular stress on political and economic control by ethnic groups of educational organizations; the ethnographic studies of aspects of traditional systems of education as well as of schools in national states (these last studies focused particularly on social change and national modernization); several significant books of readings in anthropology and education appeared; educational processes and transmission reviewed from a psychological framework other than the personality framework, thus reflecting a growing emphasis in psychology on cognitive theories in contrast to behavioristic affective theories; theoretical developments in this area attended to the evolution of education in society, particularly the functional interrelationships between educational processes and levels of sociocultural complexity, and there was continued debate on defining basic concepts such as enculturation and culture transmission. In the 1970's there is also evidence of serious effort at bringing to the subfield a new anthropological paradigm, earlier characterized as "the new ethnography" that views culture as cognition distinguished from but related to behavior and material phenomena as artifact. There is increasing activity in the area of

ethnic education marked by critical debate on the issue of policy and evaluation, particularly insofar as anthropologists became apologists for ethnic points of view, e.g., the native American point of view, in opposition to what some professional educators describe as "objective" evaluation. In 1971 education of minorities still was a dominant theme within the field, but there was increasing attention to linguistic questions and to their application to bilingual and bicultural programs. Particularly notable is the application of the cognitive-culture paradigm to biculturalism and multiculturalism relative to questions of ethnic studies programs. This approach emphasizes biculturalism and multiculturalism and is common in culturally complex cultures among minorities and in other settings. This conceptualization is politically significant in relieving the social scientist's mind from the view of the inevitable tyranny of assimilation and cultural replacement of a subordinate culture by a dominant culture's way of life.

The ethnographers describe with new intensity not only schools and classrooms but teachers and other members of school staff. There is also new cognitive emphasis in the discussion of teaching content cross-culturally. There is notable entry on the scene of psychologists who were unafraid of being both ethnographic and experimental in their efforts to use schools as devices of modernization. Understanding of intellectual processes in relationship to culture knowledge and content are given new impetus with the new view from the cognitive-psychological point of view. Anthropologists are also discussing the issues of intelligence, race, cross-cultural testing, and intellectual processes. In these arenas, there is evidence of increasing sophistication of the

theoretical and methodological contribution of the subfield of anthropology and education to the full field of anthropology. At the International Congress of Ethnological and Anthropological Sciences, a symposium sponsored by the Smithsonian Institute and directed by Fred Gearing and others directly addressed itself to the discussion of a theoretical statement of culture transmission; the key features of the theory were reported in the CAE Newsletter. This theory is based fundamentally on the view of cultural transmission as some type of communication and interpersonal transactions.

In terms of recommendations, one can see that the field is clearly ready for reviews of the substantive body of ethnographies of education that are now available, reviews that employ comparative schema and that have theoretical, generalizing outcomes. Key concepts of enculturation, socialization, formal, informal and non-formal education, deliberate instruction, and the special character of the relationship between teaching and learning, all are ready for and are being subjected to critical examination and the formulation of a genuinely sophisticated theory of culture transmission. With new methodology, scholars are turning, and more should turn, to the careful examination of what is in fact transmitted in culture transmission. So far anthropologists have generally assumed that what should be transmitted in order to maintain and continue a culture is in fact transmitted. There is a healthy new skepticism of the limited deterministic effect of education on economic and political change, but it should not lead to the abandonment of the study of the role of education in such processes. The new emphasis on the reality of multiculturalism and the related conditions in complex societies should be used to examine the role of

education relative to types of political and economic systems. Culture may prove to be a key mediating variable between certain types of political and economic processes and the lives of individuals.

From the point of view of the significant contribution to education, the educational category of "evaluation" of educational programs is an area that should receive closer scrutiny by anthropologists from a cultural perspective and from the point of view of their own research methodologies. Their theory and methodology are probably now ready for heavier responsibility in social policy. In lean financial years, evaluations are not made mainly to decide what to do and add but rather what to eliminate and not do. Such times are crucial for policy decision, and anthropologists, particularly applied anthropologists, might find a new arena for involvement and interest.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

A Delineation of a Field of Inquiry

Charles Harrington

Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education

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INTRODUCTION

The goal of this report is to review current approaches and findings in psychological anthropology in such a way as to demonstrate what I perceive to be their relevance and importance to an adequate anthropology of education.

In meeting its goal this paper, of necessity, must abstract from the vast material generated by researchers in psychological anthropology certain topics which this author feels are the most directly or immediately relevant to education. What follows does not pretend to be a summary of research in the field of psychological anthropology (see Barnouw 1973), but is limited to that research likely to lead to a psychological anthropology of education.

The field of inquiry known by the rubric psychological anthropology is concerned "with human behavior primarily in terms of the ideas which form the basis of the interrelationship between the individual and his society" (Hsu 1972:6). The field "take[s] it for granted that there is some connection between the make up of a culture and the particular personality (or personalities) of its human characters. By "personality" we can mean two things. We can mean, first, the sum-total of the overt modes of behavior of an individual, in which we discern some integration and consistence, and which we thus understand to be facets or "traits" of that totaled patterned entity. Or secondly, we can mean some basic mental make-up underlying the pattern of overt behavior and accounting

for it in the sense of a hidden machine or a casually effective set of "factors" (Nadel 1951:405). While this broad conceptualization delimits an area of inquiry, it is not helpful in constructing the boundaries of that inquiry. As Hsu has pointed out, since all human behavior is mediated through individual human beings, all human behavior is at once psychological and social in nature (Hsu 1972:5).

As a practical matter we define as psychological anthropology works which fit one of the following descriptions:

1. A work of psychological anthropology is one by an anthropologist who has a good knowledge of psychological concepts or by the member of another discipline who has a good knowledge of anthropological concepts.
2. Any work that deals with the individual as the locus of culture.
3. Any work that gives serious recognition to culture as an independent or dependent variable associated with personality.
4. Any work by an anthropologist which uses psychological concepts or techniques or by a scholar in a psychological discipline which provides directly pertinent data in forms which are useable by anthropologists... (Hsu 1972:2).

The basic theoretical question that psychological anthropology raises is the one which most determines its relevance to the field of education--the question of enculturation. Psychological anthropology as a part of anthropology has a goal of explaining the diversity of human cultures, and how cultures, and hence the diversity, are maintained over time. To the psychological anthropologists the latter explanation lies in the ability of the culture to transmit itself from one generation to another, and, in the process, to grow and incorporate some change.

Surely it should not be necessary to construct arguments for the relevance to education of this branch of anthropology for the benefit of the Committee of Anthropology and Education of the National Academy of Education. This issue is not as clear as it might be, however. When anthropologists first became formally involved in the study of education and began to appear on the faculty of schools of education, their raison d'etre was often to overcome the tremendous dominance of the psychologists on the field. Thus many anthropologists of education in a sense made their careers, or at least justified their existences, by researching and behaving differently from psychologists. As a result, a curious imbalance has occurred within the field of anthropology and education. Because psychological anthropology (or culture and personality as Levine, 1973 still prefers) was associated, at least to some, with psychology and psychiatry, anthropology-and-education scholars tended to ignore it or even to respond as if it were pretty much in the "enemy's" camp. That this trend continues to the present is evidenced by the fact that the recent Burnett (1974) bibliography of anthropology and education, commissioned by the Anthropology and Education Committee of the National Academy of Education and published under the sponsorship of the Council on Anthropology and Education of the American Anthropological Association, specifically excludes studies from psychological anthropology, at the same time acknowledging their possible significance.

It seems to me very likely that in linking their attitude toward psychology to psychological anthropology, anthropologists of education have (some might think in a very literal sense) thrown the baby out with the bath water. Accordingly, this paper reviews the literature of psychological anthropology, hoping to make it useable to students of

education, while at the same time arguing its relevance to that inquiry. The general point is that no study of education can reasonably ignore the cross-cultural studies of learning process, socialization and social change of psychological anthropology. These are essential, indeed major, components of any anthropology and education.

Psychological anthropology, because it is embedded within anthropology, has three contributions to the study of education which it shares with the rest of the discipline and which taken together form the basic orientations for the studies which produce the substantive results to be discussed in detail below. These three orientations have to do with the definition of education, method, and cross-cultural comparison.

Anthropological definitions of education have consistently marked a point of departure between anthropology and other disciplines. Anthropologists have taken very broad views of education. They have insisted that education not be confused with the more narrow concept of "schooling." By defining education as encompassing both formal (or directed) as well as informal learning, the anthropological conceptualization of education has become quite nearly "everything that happens to a person throughout his lifetime," while definitions used by educators have occasionally been so narrow as to be limited to what a child learns through the formal curriculum in school. While several historians of education have, in recent years, argued that a definition of education which includes more than just schooling is essential (see e.g., Cremin 1970), it is still a defensible position that anthropology in general, and psychological anthropology in particular, has taken a broad view of education (and early on, see e.g., Whiting 1941),

while those professionally concerned with education have taken more narrow views.

A second hallmark of anthropological approaches (and hence of a psychological anthropology of education) is the methodology brought to bear on the problems being researched. Social and psychological anthropology both share a dedication to the variety of techniques subsumed under the label participant observation. However, within that shared orientation, each has developed more specific, more specialized, ancillary methods in response to the problems each has chosen to solve. In particular, psychological anthropology has emphasized the importance of the systematic observation and recording of data, the use of adaptations of psychological techniques of personality measurement, projective testing, and experimental design to learn about individuals, and the analysis of "cultural products" as clues to learning and cognition. In addition to these methods, which are relevant to the concerns of this paper as techniques available to observe and assess educational outcomes and which are reviewed in Barnouw (1973), a part of the field has been concerned with producing what for our purposes we might call "narratives of education" or more traditionally, "life histories." These (more or less auto-) biographical materials provide vivid descriptions of growing up through adulthood in societies with and without formal schooling, and are especially relevant materials to those interested in education in its broadest sense. While the heyday of "life history" production was in the 30's and 40's, autobiographies continue to appear (e.g., Spradley 1969). An important development of the 50's and 60's, however, was the appearance of records of family histories

which enabled the reader to compare descriptions of events from the point of view of various family participants. The pioneer and really sole artisan of these family autobiographies was, of course, Oscar Lewis; and while the expense and enormity of his undertakings has discouraged imitators, his works remain a legacy for those who would seek to understand the details of family interpersonal dynamics and their place in the socialization of children (Lewis 1951, 1961, 1965, 1969). However, narratives in general are out of fashion. They are, after all, secondary data, subject to the whims of recall and having dangers akin to those of the self-report methods of other disciplines (for a bibliography of life histories, see Langness 1965). The hallmark of the psychological anthropologists of the present is the generation of primary data, either by observation or through systematic elicitation.

The third anthropological orientation is that we insist on examining educational phenomena in a cross-cultural framework, as part of an anthropological commitment to the study of what Chase calls "contemporary man," everyone alive on earth. As such, we are not content with what so much of mainstream psychology, especially experimental psychology, often seems to be: the psychology of 100 undergraduates at a large midwestern university. While many psychologists have become aware of the necessity of broadening their subject base, the mainstream of the discipline is still culture bound. Similarly, while studies of our own society do occur in anthropology, the mainstream of the discipline almost excludes such study. Psychologists have tended to view the cross-cultural method as one by which certain assumptions about personality development may be tested.

Anthropologists, on the other hand, are more likely to focus on the shared aspects of human behavior and to use such studies as tests of hypotheses concerning the way in which elements of a culture can be integrated by underlying psychological processes.

The three anthropological orientations are implicit or explicit in a vast amount of substantive findings which are relevant to an informed inquiry into education. Much of it has appeared, however, in professional disciplinary journals and in forms not easily accessible to those other than fellow specialists conducting similar kinds of research. It is our purpose here to synthesize substantive material together into a coherent and integrated form, so as to make its relevance to educational inquiry apparent. In organizing the material I have delimited three major areas of inquiry as deserving of top priority for this report. Each is closely linked to each of the others, and some of our classifications of particular studies may appear arbitrary. My intent in setting up the three areas is not to enshrine each as a separate area of inquiry, but merely to represent an organizational tool whereby the vast amount of material we need to examine can be handled. The three areas for which psychological anthropology offers substantive findings are: Perception and Cognition, Socialization, and Social Change.

In examining the relevance of psychological anthropology to the study of education, I have chosen to begin the substantive review of the literature with an examination of studies of perception and cognition. There are good reasons for this. First, examining the learning process

itself, we must be concerned with what individuals learn with, and for the purposes of this paper, that means their perceptual equipment; i.e., what they can be aware of which is a precondition of learning. Secondly, what do they do with their perceptions? We shall use the word cognition to refer to the structure of thought processes. Taken together, perception and cognition describe how people experience their world and think about it.

The term, "socialization," to denote the process by which culture is transmitted from one generation to the next, gained favor in the 1930's. One use of the term described the socialization process as "an account of how a new person is added to the group and becomes an adult capable of meeting the traditional expectations of his society" (Dollard 1935). While the term acquired formal acceptance in the 1954 review article by Child, anthropologists in particular have been unhappy with the term's emphasis on social roles and behavior to the exclusion of beliefs, values, and other cognitive aspects of culture. Alternate terms proposed have included "culturalization" (Kluckhohn 1939) and "enculturation" (Herskovits 1948). In this report the term "socialization" is often used as a synonym of the term "enculturation" in its broadest sense. This is the sense in which "socialization" is used by Hartley and Hartley, "as learning to be a member of a group. It means perceiving what is considered to be correct and essential in a group, accepting these precepts as right, good and necessary, and learning to behave in congruence with them. This progress includes ways of thinking, or feeling as well as ways of behaving, and it covers attitudes towards one's self as well as attitudes and behavior towards other people" (Hartley and Hartley 1952:206). Psychological

anthropology views socialization as a learning process essential to the structure and continuation of every human (and more recently non-human--Poirer 1973) society.

While discussing socialization, cultures are treated as stable from generation to generation. In our discussion of social change we shall examine psychological anthropological studies of acculturation, initially in studies of migration and ethnicity within the United States, and then in terms of change and development outside the United States. We now examine the three areas in order.

I. Perception and Cognition

Students of education have long understood that knowledge about how children and adults experience their world and think about it is as important to their discipline as is knowledge about how people learn. The study of perception and cognition is considered fundamental to education; first, because these processes are assumed to be biological givens, universally employed by humans in all human groups; and second, because one must know how people perceive and think in order to understand what one can teach them and how to do it efficiently.

In relying primarily on psychologists for basic knowledge about perception and cognition, educators have been led astray in certain crucial respects. First of all, they have adopted explanations and theories of perceiving and thinking that were based on psychologists' culture-bound interpretations of these data. Second, they have adopted measurement techniques based on culturally restricted assumptions, and employing them, reached erroneous (not to mention racist) conclusions about the functioning of members of groups other than their own. Psychological anthropologists, in contrast, have searched both for cross-cultural uniformities and cultural differences in studying perception and cognition, with the goal of developing more universally applicable theories which would be useful in understanding education in its narrow sense as well as other aspects of enculturation.

The literature reviewed in this section is roughly divided into subsections concerned with "perceptual" processes and "cognitive" processes respectively. It is important to point out that this division is a

completely arbitrary one, since the two terms actually refer to two inseparable aspects of a single process; for humans, at any rate, there are no perceptual processes in which cognitive processes do not play a part and no cognitive process that do not also involve some aspects of perception. One additional caveat is perhaps in order here. The substantive findings presented below represent only tentative and incomplete answers to the fundamental questions they address. Frequently they merely suggest reformulations of old questions, and it is these questions that we consider vital.

Perception

The importance of studies of perception can perhaps best be made clear by examining one of the first researches in the field, the by now famous Torres Straits Expedition reports of W. H. R. Rivers (Rivers 1901, 1905). While the susceptibility of the subjects to optical illusions may seem a trivial subject for study, the idea that impelled the Rivers research was embedded in late 19th century thought which dichotomized savages from civilized peoples, and which consistently searched for explanations--often racist--of why the subjects of travelers' reports had not advanced to "the higher stages of civilization" (Malinowski 1948:70). For the psychologists of the time, one explanation for the arrested development of the culture of the savages was "faulty equipment." That is, an inability to perceive as accurately as the European. In the section on cognition, we shall of course encounter the same argument, but there the suspect organ will be the brain, and the issue intellect.

Rivers set out to test comparatively the perceptual equipment of the savages with samples of European subjects, using optical illusion as an operationalization of perceptual ability: the more susceptible, the more inferior the equipment. Of course, whatever his findings, the idea, and its underlying but thickly veiled racism, has continued into the present. For example, in a prestigious review of the literature on cross-cultural measurement of perceptual and motor skills, Provins, Bell, Biensheuvel and Adiseshiah (1968) argue that the evaluation of perceptual skills in different cultural groups is important as a way of determining the "ease" with which a primitive group may accept technological advancement or be absorbed into a technologically more sophisticated society. The important thing about Rivers' results was the "fact that differences between Western and non-Western peoples exist in both directions; i.e., that the non-Western peoples seem to be less subject to one illusion while more subject to another." Obviously, the failure to find differences that are consistent in direction eliminates any simple explanation of the existing differences, including the view, prevalent during the 19th century, that since "primitive" peoples are less well endowed intellectually than "civilized" peoples, the former ought to be more easily duped by illusions and therefore consistently more subject to them. The suggestion in Rivers' data that the "primitives" might actually be less subject to the Muller-Lyer illusion is embarrassing to any such hypothesis" (Segal, Campbell, Herskovits 1966:64). Explanations of Rivers' findings had to recognize the significance of experience in the formation of inference habits that affect perception. In 1966 Segal, Campbell and Herskovits reported

on an attempt to test the ideas raised by Rivers' research in a comparative study of illusion susceptibility in sixteen cultures. They conclude:

Perception is an aspect of human behavior, and as such is subject to many of the same influences that shape other aspects of behavior. In particular, each individual's experiences combine in a complex fashion to determine his reaction to a given stimulus situation. To the extent that certain classes of experiences are more likely to occur in some cultures than in others, differences in behavior across cultures, including differences in perceptual tendencies, can be great enough even to surpass the ever-present individual differences within cultural groupings.

We have reported here a study that revealed significant differences across cultures in susceptibility to several geometric, or optical illusions. It should be stressed that these differences are not "racial" differences. They are differences produced by the same kinds of factors that are responsible for individual difference in illusion susceptibility, namely, differences in experience. The findings we have reported, and the findings of others we have reviewed, point to the conclusion that to a substantial extent we learn to perceive; that in spite of the phenomenally absolute character of our perceptions, they are determined by perceptual inference habits; and that various inference habits are differentially likely in different societies. For all mankind, the basic process of perception is the same; only the contents differ and these differ only because they reflect different perceptual habits (Segall, Campbell and Herskovits 1966:213-214).

Segall, Campbell and Herskovits' accounts are not unchallenged. Jahoda (1966) points out that the simple ecological interpretation of "carpenteredness" led him to predict incorrectly differences between the Lobi and Dagomba on the one hand and the Ashanti on the other (all in Ghana) in susceptibility to Muller-Lyer and Horizontal-Vertical perceptions. Further, tribes with the same ecology have been found to show differing responses

(based on data from Morgan 1959, Reuning 1959, and Mundy-Castle and Nelson 1962). Jahoda and Stacey (1970) reported a comparison of Ghanian students and Scottish students suggesting formal education not ecology as the critical variable. Other variables linked to illusion susceptibility are age (Walter 1942, Piaget and Morf 1956 [for Horizontal-Vertical]) and "sophisticated environment" (Wagner and Werner 1957). However, Dawson, Young and Choi (1973) have found support for the position that a carpentered world also contributes to the variance in illusion susceptibility.

The Segall, Campbell and Herskovits work still remains definitive, however, because of its scope and rigor. Failures to replicate its results in retesting any one group for comparison are not as worrisome for their analysis as would be a new cross-cultural study like their in which effects of formal education as well as environment could be tested. Too, it is interesting that the criticisms of Segall, Campbell and Herskovits come only from psychologists with other theoretical axes to grind and not from anthropology.

In addition to the "carpentered world" effect of the environment on perception, travelers and anthropologists have commented more informally on the impact of a physical environment on perception. Robert Flaherty, the filmmaker (Nanook of the North, Moana, Man of Aran, etc.) tells vividly of being on hunts with Nanook when Nanook would navigate through the snow by signs that he, Flaherty, could not "see." Clearly, immersion in an environment can enable a person to see differences so subtle that they are missed by a novice (e.g., degrees of packedness of snow, in the Flaherty case), or form automatic habits of visual inference which may be totally missed by the visitor who does not comprehend their significance; e.g.,

during a blizzard, the direction of fur on one's parka (if the wind is consistent) can tell relative direction (Carpenter, Varley, and Flaherty 1959).

This, and the "carpentered world" hypothesis, focus upon informal, experiential learning. The inferences we learn to make by being a part of a particular physical scene become established over time. Psychologists have also been fascinated with the effects of exposure to two-dimensional representation on visual differences. Specifically Hudson (1960) raised the question of the difficulty of perceiving three dimensions from two-dimensional representations like drawings and pictures for people unaccustomed to such phenomena. Anthropologists had noted these phenomena for years but Hudson (1960) presented a detailed examination of the problem which was followed up by several researchers (e.g., Mundy-Castle and Nelson 1962; Dawson 1963; Vernon 1965; Deregowski 1968, 1969; Deregowski and Byth 1970, Hudson 1962; and Mundy-Castle 1966). Hudson (1967) summarizes this research and explicitly deals with its relevance to education. He offers the following rare commentary on educational planners:

We take it very much for granted that methods which are only moderately successful in our own cultures will prove equally, if not highly, successful in an alien culture. We fall into the error of thinking of the black man's mind as a tabula rasa, which we have only to fill with the benefits of our cultural experience in order to promote whatever objectives we have in mind. We forget or ignore the fact that the black man possesses his own indigenous culture.

Is it rational of us to shut our eyes to the role that culture plays in education and in the assimilation and association of new concepts and practices? We do not ignore cultural and

environmental differences among the national populations of Europe. Why should we do so in Africa? Even in such a limited field as that of pictorial perception, the facts, once we become aware of them, illustrate the gravity and extensiveness of our irrationality (Hudson 1967).

Kilbride (1971) and Kilbride and Robbins (1969) provide strong evidence for the position that for pictorial depth perception, visual perceptual skills are largely learned and significantly related to relative amounts of exposure to Western culture. Their data are from the Baganda of Uganda. At another level of study, Child (1968) examines judgments of the relative aesthetic quality of paintings by expert judges of several societies, and concluded that there was some generality to aesthetic principles. Ekman and Friesen (1971), Ekman, Sorenson and Friesen (1969), and Cuceloglu (1967) argue for a similar cross-cultural universality in emotion attributed to facial expressions.

The physical environment's effect on perception is often seen as mediated by language, to which effect on perception we now turn. Human languages provide their speakers with sets of categories into which experiences are classified. Snow is important to Eskimos; they distinguish types, ergo they are said to perceive snow differently than peoples who are not familiar enough with it to require more than one category. Linguists perfectly familiar with the inability of speakers of languages to "hear" sounds which are not phenomenally distinctive in their own tongue. Thus, English speakers often do not "hear" aspiration, etc. Many researchers have investigated the categorization of color, a particularly fascinating area in which to study classification, since objectively color is one continuum which can be arbitrarily divided into categories. This research

has not produced much that I would consider directly relevant to educational inquiry, but a couple of observations are in order. Kellaghan's (1968) study of color categorization in African children using the Weigl-Goldstein-Scheerer color form sorting test and other instruments found Irish subjects performing better than their Nigerian (Yoruba) contemporaries. However, their data suggest that lack of familiarity with test materials could account for the supposed "deficits" in the Yoruba subjects, a finding which again emphasizes the learned aspects of category perception. More recently, Adams and Osgood (1973) presented data from a 23 culture semantic differential study of the affective or feeling correlates of certain colors. Their findings are of relevance to educational inquiry and even to the design of education facilities, since they suggest that there are strong "universal trends" in the attribution of affective domains to colors. A detailed review of the colors and their affective attributes is beyond our scope here, but we do feel obligated to enter one demurrer. The consistency of their "cross-cultural results" may be due not so much to the universality of the attributions under study, but rather to the instruments they used, which require subjects who could read and write! We shall return to this point below in our discussion of cognition.

Recently, Levi-Strauss has emphasized the importance of classification, and the linkages to perception are easy to see from some of his examples.

The Hanunoo classify all forms of the local avifauna into seventy-five categories... [they] distinguish about a dozen kinds of snakes...sixty-odd types of fish...more than a dozen...types of fresh and salt water crustaceans...a similar number of...types of

arachnids and myriapods....The thousands of insect forms present are grouped by the Hanunoo into a hundred and eight categories, including thirteen for ants and termites....Salt water mollusks...of more than sixty classes are recognized by the Hanunoo, while terrestrial and fresh water types number more than twenty-five....Four distinct types of bloodsucking leaches are distinguished...altogether 461 animal types are recorded....The acute observation of the pygmies and their awareness of the inter-relationships between the plant and animal life...is strikingly pointed out by their discussions of the living habits of bats. The tididin lives on the dry leaves of palms, the dikidik on the underside of the leaves of the wild banana, the litlit in bamboo clumps, the kolumboy in holes in trees, the konanaba in dark thickets, and so forth. In this manner, the Pinatubo Negritos can distinguish the habits of more than fifteen species of bats. Of course, the classification of bats, as well as of insects, birds, animals, fish and plants, is determined primarily by their actual physical differences and/or similarities...

Even a child can frequently identify the kind of tree from which a tiny wood fragment has come and, furthermore, the sex of that tree, as defined by Kabiran notions of plant sex, by observing the appearance of its wood and bark, its smell, its hardness, and similar characteristics. Fish and shellfish by the dozen are known by individually distinctive terms, and their separate features and habits, as well as the sexual differences within each type, are well recognized (Levi-Strauss 1966).

Not only does long term exposure to environment and language affect perception, but experimental psychologists have been able to demonstrate the short-term exposure to group pressure can also bring about changes in perception. A remarkable series of experimental studies by Asch (1956), which stimulated a large number of studies of "conformity" by other social

psychologists, argued that information provided by a majority of other people about the attributes of an object was frequently taken into account by observers of the object even when that information contradicted the evidence of the person's own senses. Although there is considerable evidence (e.g., Deutsch and Gerard, 1955) to suggest that some apparent "conformity" to majority perception may represent mere surface responses to emotional factors such as fear of group disapproval, it remains clear that the judgments of others are under certain conditions used as information by observers in categorizing ambiguous stimuli. Moscovici et al. (1969) and Beiner (1972), for example, have demonstrated that observers' thresholds for labelling colors can be influenced by the color judgments of others, even when the others are clearly in the minority and make judgments that are radically different from those of the experimental subject and other members of the observing groups. It is not clear from the evidence whether these effects are transitory or whether they exert long-term influence on the category boundaries of the experimental subject, but it is not difficult to infer that repeated exposure to these effects would indeed have long-term consequences.

Evidence of more indirect forms of social role influence upon perception is seen in the work of Munroe, Munroe, and Daniels, and of Herman Witkin and his colleagues. Munroe, Munroe and Daniels (1969), in a replication of an experiment by Bruner and Goodman, have shown that the size of the father's landholdings in Kenya was related to the perception by children seven to thirteen years old of the size of a series of coins. The poorer the father, the larger the child reported the size of the coin to be. The explanation given is of a relative deprivation sort: Coins are

more important to children of poorer parents, and this importance is projected to perception of size. What is important here is not so much the explanation as the further evidence that social role affects perception. Socialization to certain roles in society other than social class has also been shown to have perceptual consequences. Recent studies of field dependency made in the United States (Witkin, et al., 1962) offer within-culture evidence that perceptual style correlates with social role. In the field dependency test, in which a vertical line is projected upon a shifting background, women, more often than men, are fooled into thinking the line is no longer vertical. This field dependence is paralleled in the woman's role by her greater socio-emotional competence and her greater concern with others' feelings.

Further investigations into field dependency cross-culturally, including its associations with behavior and with biology as well seem especially promising. For example, Berry (1966) found field dependency differences between men and women to be culturally determined. Eskimo women are not treated as dependent; Temne men exercise strong control over their wives. Temne women show strong field dependency when compared with Temne men. Eskimo women show no differences in field dependency with Eskimo men. MacArthur (1967) replicated Berry's findings for Eskimos. Socialization into the requirements of a social role, then, can be seen as actually influencing perception which of course thereby reinforces future role learning. Irving (1970) provides additional evidence from a study of Dutch, Mexican, and U. S. Blacks that social role prescriptions affect field dependence perceptions and Wober's (1967) review of the African literature is consistent with this interpretation. The demonstrated

association of perceptual skills with social role prescriptions has enormous consequences for educators in two ways: (1) showing a self-training effect; i.e., the more a person is socialized the more likely he is to be channeled to learn particular skills and less likely to learn others; (2) because of the latter, there is a built-in resistance to later learning which requires different perceptual habits; for example, in social movements whose aim is a redefinition of sex role behaviors, are men less able to learn socio-emotional roles because they are less field dependent? Are women by the same token less likely to achieve instrumental success? While one would not argue that perceptual habits can alone account for such behavior, the existence of an effect on learning is reasonably inferred from the available evidence.

By stressing the cumulative nature of the socialization experience and the concurrent blinding to other options that takes place, Endleman (1967) properly describes the process of socialization as one in which culture shows one the world, but makes one blind and deaf to worlds revealed by other perceptual skills. Adler and Harrington (1970) have applied the point of view represented by these studies from the psychological anthropology of perception in constructing their model of how political socialization takes place.

The studies above are important to educators in several respects. They demonstrate, in the first place, that the content of perception is culturally determined and culturally learned, and argue strongly against assumptions of biological differences between people of different cultures as accounting for differences in perception. Second, they suggest that

certain perceptual styles, emphases, and skills--certain aspects of the perceptual process--are also culturally influenced and not biologically determined. Third, the studies can be seen to demonstrate that it is important for the student of education to understand how these cultural factors operate to influence the content and process of perception; clearly, such an understanding can be helpful to educators in a variety of ways. Finally, many of the studies provide specific information about the content and process of perception in particular cultures, and suggest research techniques whereby such information can be gained about still other cultures and subcultures, members of which are encountered by educators in their work.

Cognition

The difficulty with the study of cognition is that it cannot be studied directly because we cannot observe what actually goes on inside someone else's head. All we can study are responses to stimuli provided, inferring but not directly demonstrating the existence of cognitive structures. This particular axiom was forgotten for a while in a rush of enthusiasm over componential analysis in the late 50's and 60's, but Burling and others have more recently provided a corrective, and simple-minded equation of analytic models and psychologically "real" models (Schneider 1965) now seem to be more rare. Ardauer (1971) has performed a valuable service by putting the entire problem into historical context (a history was often ignored or even denied by writers in the 60's), rehearsing the problems of the linguistic analogy upon which so much anthropological research into cognition is based, and fully dealing with the problems of the indeterminacy of psychological reality.

Cross-cultural research in cognitive development is, of course, a large field, and one in which numbers of psychologists have worked. Indeed, of all the literature reviewed her, the perception and cognition literature is the most dominated by psychologists, and when anthropologists are included, they generally are part of an inter-disciplinary team. One of the differences between the two disciplines, psychology and anthropology, is important in understanding this literature: that the two disciplines have differing usages of the term "cross-cultural."

Put simply, for the psychologists a comparison of English and French children is called cross-cultural research; for the anthropologist, in most usages, it would not be. The anthropologist is likely to apply the term "cross-cultural research" to research that has been carried out across several cultures, and in which non-western cultures form a major group. The English-French study alluded to above would, for most anthropologists, not include sufficient representation of the world's diversity to be cross cultural, and secondly, would be interpreted as a comparative study of groups within the Western European culture area.

For the purpose of this paper, it seems most fruitful to make a detailed analysis of cognitive issues as they occur in the study of one particular aspect of cognition most relevant to educators: intelligence or intellectual functioning. Anthropology and psychology have, during the past hundred years, developed a number of assumptions about the relationship between culture and thinking which are frequently quite divergent. The assumptions in turn affect how each discipline explains apparent differences in the thinking of people of different cultures.

An anecdote sometimes told in introductory anthropology courses tells of an educational psychologist who sets out for Australia to test the intelligence of the aborigines. He expects to be able to account for their "backwardness" by showing that their intelligence is not up to standard. He arrives in Australia with IQ tests under his arm, rents a Land Rover, and sets out across the outback to find his subjects. As he drives through the desert, his Land Rover fails him. His supply of water runs low, and he sets out on foot in growing desperation; eventually he collapses in the barren land. Two passing aborigines come upon him shortly thereafter. Scooping sand not two feet from where the psychologist's head lies, they expose a spring and give him water. Revived, he signals that he is hungry, and one of the aborigines throws a stone, kills a rabbit, and feeds the psychologist.

The point of the story, of course, is that the Western educational psychologist very visibly failed an aboriginal intelligence test. Anthropologists have long taken the point of view that coping with the exigencies of the physical and social environments of any culture demands the full range of mental abilities that humans possess. As Wallace has said:

To suppose that the "primitive" is unable to think rationally, for instance, would lead to the expectation that the primitive hunter would perform the following feat of cerebration with suicidal consequences:

A rabbit has four legs
That animal has four legs
Therefore, that animal is a
rabbit.

Further, the anthropologist who studies an unfamiliar culture typically has enormous difficulty mastering the intricacies of its members' daily functioning, and feels woefully ignorant and unintelligent while attempting to do so. It is not surprising, therefore, that the anthropologist can only understand the concept of "intelligence" as relating to an individual's ability to perform in a particular cultural setting. From this point of view, intelligence tests as we know them measure success at performing tasks in ways associated with a Western European lifestyle--particularly that of the American middle class.

But those from other cultures (or subcultures) who do not perform well on such culture bound tests are often labeled cognitively or culturally deprived by non-anthropologists. Psychologist George Miller (1971) says:

Every culture has its myths. One of our most persistent is that non-literate people possess something we like to call a "primitive mentality" [because it is] different from and [therefore] inferior to our own.... The same stereotype is likely to be applied to ethnic minorities living in the West.

Anthropologists have long jostled with these twin ethnocentrisms: that cultures different from Western civilization are inferior, and that "primitive" cultures (e.g., those with hunter-gatherer economies) are the result of an inferior mentality among their members. The point of view of modern anthropologists, based on their experience with these other cultures, has emphasized the cognitive unity of mankind--which means,

essentially, that thought processes (such as logic) do not differ from culture to culture. What differs, according to this doctrine, is content (what is thought about), situation (the conditions that elicit the thinking), and the premises that are accepted as true or binding. The cognitive unity idea has not always been accepted among anthropologists, however. Boas (1911) turned anthropologists away from a very different position. That earlier position, which was patterned after Darwin's and Huxley's biological propositions, posited that complex, civilized societies evolved from primitive ones in a systematic way. Furthermore, just as the young of a species presumably pass through the species' evolutionary history during embryological development, the minds of children in civilized societies also pass through primitive stages in mental development, which reflect the mental capacities and strategies of adults in primitive societies. Differences in material and religious culture, then, imply differences in thinking; primitive man was illogical or, as the French Levy-Bruhl (1923) put it, "prelogical" rather than logical, concrete rather than abstract, and so on. Current thought, as most recently formulated by Levi-Strauss, is quite different. As Cole, et al. (1971) interpret it, all men seek to make nature accessible to rational inquiry. "Both Western and non-Western strategies seek objective knowledge of the universe; both proceed by ordering, classifying, and systematizing information; both create coherent systems."

Psychologists, too, have been fascinated by evolutionary metaphors. The idea that the history of the human species can be seen in the development of civilized children enjoyed enormous popularity around the turn of the century. Furthermore, it was widely believed that primitive men had

had primitive minds. The primitive child, in one writer's summary of the literature as of 1928, was thought to be precocious until puberty, when his perspicacity came to a dead halt. This arrested mental development, as it was called, had been attributed to a variety of factors: sexual excesses and alcoholism, biological inferiority, and the culture's inability to provide the resources which make further development possible. Although the first of these explanations for assumed cognitive deficiencies has passed out of the psychological literature, the latter two--biological and cultural inferiority--remain as alternative accounts of the reasons underlying the mental deficiencies that are still assumed by some psychologists to exist among people of certain cultures. The resistance to change of this assumption is in part due to the rise to prominence of a sub-discipline within psychology which has had a continuing concern with the measurement of intellectual functioning.

The intelligence testing movement began around the turn of this century when school officials in Paris asked Alfred Binet to produce a test which would identify dull children because they could not trust teachers to make unbiased assessments. Work on existing and new intelligence tests is still going on, and many of the psychologists who have been involved with the refinements of these instruments are highly respected in the profession. The standardized tests of intelligence are now used not only to predict school and vocational performance, but also in psychodiagnostic work. Some of the basic issues involved in intelligence testing, however, remain

unresolved. There is scholarly disagreement, for example, about whether the term "intelligence" should be taken as having a psychological reality--as representing some characteristic of the brain--or whether it should be taken merely as a convenient abstraction, a mathematical entity which describes certain interrelated behaviors. The second view is the more cautious and perhaps the more common one among psychologists working in this field. Some of these researchers, however, along with most laymen, do view the general factor that is common to performance on several subtests of standard intelligence tests as if it were "...a capacity [emphasis ours] for abstract reasoning and problem solving." The quote is from Arthur Jensen's controversial 1969 paper, but Jensen is far from alone in his view. For example, D. Wechsler (1944:3), who developed the most commonly used test of adult intelligence, gave this definition: "Intelligence is the aggregate or global capacity of the individual to act purposefully, to think rationally, and to deal effectively with his environment." We should point out that Jensen and others like him who use comparisons of IQ scores of "whites and blacks" to show evidence for the genetic origins of intelligence are talking about neither intelligence nor heredity but the relationship between two cultural categories: "white and black (or Negro)" are not genetic classifications but cultural ones (Wechsler 1963). IQ tests measure performance on skills in a way which successfully elicits them from members of one subculture. Therefore, the relationship shows that those a culture classes as "white" appear to do better than those classed as "black" at tasks that culture trains "whites" to do. What is truly astounding about the Jensen controversy is the relative absence of

this anthropological commonplace in the criticisms that followed publication of Jensen's paper. Although Jensen's argument for heritability rests on data other than "white-Negro" comparisons, the main thrust of his paper is the failure of compensatory education programs, and we all know what that means. Intelligence, from this vantage point, is "what intelligence tests test," and it is measurable by these carefully designed standard instruments. Being measurable, it must be a quantity of something which varies from one individual to another and equally likely, from one group to another.

Note that the reification of the abstract idea "intelligence" is both subtle and easy to make; the ease with which it is accomplished can be traced to the unstated assumption that anything quantifiable and measurable must have a more-or-less physical existence. Certainly, anything we have taken so very much trouble to measure reliably and validly must exist, or else why would we have taken so much trouble with it? Furthermore, the intelligence test scores of individuals don't really change very much when they are administered repeatedly to the same individuals; they predict performance on many tasks that are very important to us, and there is evidence that scores vary less within families than

among them. All these factors, along with certain politico-ideological consideration,* make the reification of the concept virtually inevitable. It is only a small step from reifying "intelligence" to viewing it as a causal factor; the lack of technological progress in a nation or culture, for example, has often been seen as caused by a deficiency in intelligence

* A great many Americans, for example, accept as valid an ideology of opportunity which posits a causal link between high ability, working hard, and receiving high social and material rewards. People who believe that those in control of social rewards act upon this principle tend to attribute their difficulties in "getting ahead" to their own failings of ability, effort, or both. Intelligence tests and the various related aptitude tests that are replacing them in schools are generally believed to be valid indicators of ability, so that when they are used to assign pupils to different classrooms and different schools, the general view is that assignment has been fair and reasonable. It has been documented that assignment to "slow" classrooms and inferior schools contributes to inferior learning, and tends to lead eventually to placement in inferior social positions--thus perpetuating existing economic differences among subcultures whose members tend to perform differently on the tests. Those who believe that the ideology of opportunity "works" probably wish to believe also that most people have received more or less what their abilities and efforts warrant; they therefore have some stake in believing in the cross-cultural validity of the tests that are used to make school assignments. Explanations of ethnic differences in test scores form particularly striking examples of the process. As Washburn (1963) points out, "...if you look at the literature, you will find that when two groups of Whites differ in their IQ's, the explanation of the difference is immediately sought in schooling, environment, economic position of parents, and so on, but that when Negroes and Whites differ in precisely the same way the difference is said to be genetic."

in its population. The reader will see that such a theoretical position is easily supported by comparing the intelligence test scores of a random sample of individuals drawn from their culture with a sample drawn from ours. The fact that the intelligence tests were made for our culture is easy to forget as soon as one has reified the concept they are supposed to measure.

Once it is established that members of a given culture or subculture are intellectually "deficient," one can begin to inquire into the causes of the deficiency. Arthur Jensen and a number of others have emphasized the role of genetic differences; Phillip Vernon and others have pointed to "cultural" causes. Vernon, writing for the Toronto Symposium on Intelligence in 1969, said of cross-cultural intelligence studies:

One can further argue that members of more backward groups are functioning mentally at Piaget's preoperational, or Bruner's enactive or iconic levels (cf. also H. Werner), and that the intellectual progress of their brighter students will approximate more to the Western type of operational and symbolic thought. Hence, it is not so unfair as might appear at first sight to test them with the kinds of tests that we apply to younger Western children. We should, though, do our best to ensure that the extrinsic, fortuitous handicaps that I have listed above are minimized--so that the testees do not fail the tests merely because they do not grasp what the problems are, or because the setting is unfamiliar or disturbing.

Another cogent justification is that such peoples provide much more extreme examples of various cultural handicaps than any we are likely to meet within Western nations. Thus, we can hope to advance our knowledge of the effects of different kinds of conditions on different abilities, particularly if we apply a range of varied tests to a number of contrasted groups. Obviously the chain of

causation will be extremely complex; one can never be sure which of many cultural conditions is responsible for any particular deficit in abilities. But as studies of this kind accumulate, our inferences will become more soundly based, and we should be able to do more to help backward peoples to progress by diagnosing the underlying causes of their retardation* [emphasis added] (Vernon 1970:108).

The first paragraph of the quotation from Professor Vernon's paper alludes to the fact that psychologists have long been aware that standard intelligence tests are "culture-bound" for a variety of reasons, most notably language differences. The response of some intelligence testers has been to design so-called "culture-free" or "culture-reduced" tests which do not rely upon verbal accomplishment or fact acquisition (see e.g., Cattell 1968). As Vernon has pointed out, however, the more the test-maker has

* We should emphasize that Professor Vernon is a highly regarded, thoughtful knowledgeable scholar. He is well aware of the fact that the intelligence notion has outgrown its usefulness to the psychological theoretician, that the intelligence test does not measure any single thing, that it does not measure innate or potential ability, and that it gives us no clue about the nature of the learning and reasoning processes of interest to cognitive psychologists. We have quoted extensively from his discussion to demonstrate the tenacity, even among scholars, of the assumptions that give rise to the position that "backward" societies do not progress because of the mental "deficiencies" of their members.

succeeded in reducing cultural content, the less effectively are the tests able to predict the skills and accomplishments valued in the criterion culture; furthermore, these non-verbal tests are themselves often very much culture-bound.

The psychometricians are not the only group of psychologists who have taken an interest in the study of cognitive functioning. On the contrary, cognitive psychology--the study of thinking and its development--has recently become a strong sub-discipline within psychology. It is convenient for our purposes to divide this group of researchers into two general sub-groups, which differ from one another both in method of inquiry and in substantive focus. The first of these subgroups centers about the work of Jean Piaget, and its work (the reader may be surprised to learn) bears, in certain respects, a resemblance to that of the mental measurement group.

Piaget's career as a student of human development began when he worked in Binet's laboratory in Paris on the adaptation of some English reasoning tests for use with French children. His method of investigation has been, like that of the mental measurement psychologists, essentially clinical rather than experimental; it employs standardized situations about which the respondent is queried. His theoretical assumptions about the nature of intelligence are also similar to those we have ascribed to a part of the mental testing group--its essence, for Piaget, lies in the individual's ability to reason. Much of the transcultural research that has been done from Piaget's point of view has involved the standard tasks that identify, in European school children, the various stages of cognitive development that appear in Piaget's theory in a fixed sequence. For the Piagetian

cognitive developmentalist who is trying to demonstrate that the sequence of mental development is in fact the same regardless of culture, the methodological strategy is perfectly obvious: One takes the standard tasks, translates them into the foreign language, and administers them to foreign children of various ages. Clement, Sistrunk and Guenther (1970) studied ratings of pattern preferences in Brazilian subjects (not tribal) and found results very similar to those previously obtained for the United States. While younger Brazilians showed more variability than comparable U. S. subjects, and the development of equivalency occurred later for Brazilians, pattern preferences were like those in the United States. This is a typical finding; i.e., the stages are validated but the non-original group is found to be "slower" [see also Bovet (1968), Heron and Dowel (1973)]. Dasen (1972) summarizes the "cross cultural" research on Piagetian theory and concludes that the stage theories are verified in most cases, but that the rate of operational development is affected by cultural factors; sometimes, in fact, the concrete operational stage is said not to be reached at all. It is not surprising that one of the things that is commonly reported in these studies is the extent to which the foreign children lag behind European children in age as they move from one developmental stage to another. The parallels between this kind of report and those of cross-cultural intelligence testers are too obvious to detail. The fact that Piaget's theory of the development of mental functioning is biological and, in a certain sense, genetic in nature, adds somewhat to the contribution of this cross-cultural work to the longevity of the "primitive mentality" idea.

Lombardi (1969) sought to investigate the psycholinguistic abilities of Papago Indian school children on the ITPA (Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities) and found the Papagos to perform significantly lower than the standardized population children on psycholinguistic abilities. The author concludes "a greater emphasis should be placed on remediating the Papago's psycholinguistic abilities and fostering language development before the children enter first grade [:]" and that teachers have not recognized fully enough that they are dealing with children with learning disabilities. Clearly, in this literature when a culture doesn't shape up to Western European norm, remediation is indicated. Kuske (1970) did for the Sioux what Lombardi had done for the Papago, and limiting ourselves to his comparison of "non-mentally handicapped" Sioux with the ITPA normative population, he found the Sioux children's performance significantly inferior on most profiles. St. George (1970) found that Maori have ITPA scores significantly lower than European children, which places them in the same category with the Sioux and Papago as reported above, but he accounted for the difference by emphasizing that "culturally" the European children have "more in common" with the world of the school. Irvine (1969) reviewed experiments involving Ss from various groups in Africa and Great Britain on tests of reasoning (Raven's Progressive Matrices). He concluded that test scores approach Western patterns as groups adopt Western value systems. DeLacey administered classification tests based on the work of Piaget and Inhelder to aborigines with and without extensive contact with European culture, and to European children living in Australia. A small sub-sample of high-contact aborigines performed on a par with the European children, but the others did not. Lloyd (1971) compared children from elite (educated) westernized and educated parents did better on the Stanford-Binet than the

traditional students. The difficulty with all these findings, of course, is that they are subject to self-selection explanations, and that chicken-and-egg problems abound in them. However, they emphasize the role of culture and familiarity with tasks being elicited, but explanations are too often post hoc.

The trend of findings is not all in one direction. McManus (1970) found similarities between pre-school children from St. Maarten (Netherlands West Indies) and the United States, and argued that a similarity in problem-solving mediational processes in children from different cultures accounts for the similarities. This too is a typical kind of explanation: All cultures must cope with similar problems. Young et al. (1970), comparing "Eskimo" students at Barrow Alaska, with "Caucasian" children at Pullman, Washington, finds similar relationships for both groups between reading performance, achievement test performance (California Achievement Test) and eyesight (refractive error). It is interesting to note that the more myopic, Ss tended to score higher on reading and achievement tests. Here we see a study illuminating how physical disabilities have similar effects "cross culturally." El-Abd (1970) reports an experiment showing that East African students' mental abilities are no different from those of students in the West in flexibility of closure, spatial orientation, verbal comprehension, and word fluency. However, note that the subjects were all boys who had obtained their Higher School Certificate or were now University undergraduates!

The other subgroup of cognitive psychologists has been working in very different ways than have those discussed above. They begin with very different assumptions about intellectual functioning. The research method

of choice has been experimental in large part, with emphasis on discovering the nature of the strategies that people use to solve various kinds of simple and more complex problems. Let us illustrate. Suppose, for example, we are told that John is taller than Mary, and that Mary is in turn taller than Bill. When asked whether John or Bill is taller we, like most American adults, immediately choose John. The question of interest is this: How have we gone about making the correct choice; that is, how do we actually think when we solve this simple problem? (After all, even those of us who are not familiar with the formal mathematics of inequalities, or with formal logic, can solve it easily.) Now suppose our speculation (like that of cognitive psychologist Clinton DeSoto) is that we solve this kind of problem by translating the "taller than" relations into spatial images which in our mind's eye we compare with one another. We may imagine a line for John which is longer than the line for Mary, and a line for Bill which is shorter than the line which represents Mary's tallness. In this view, we compare the John spatial image with the Bill spatial image and the correct answer is directly obvious. Next we must find a way of demonstrating that our speculation is correct. Our task is to design an experiment whose outcome bears upon the correctness or incorrectness of our position. Often such an experiment consists of posing the problem to respondents in different forms, such that some of the forms would seem likely to interfere with a spatial image method of solving it, and some would not. If there emerged differences among the forms of presentation in the speed or accuracy with which respondents solved the problems, then our speculation would have received support.

Experimental cognitive developmentalists often utilize such research tactics. Many of the theoretical ideas have been influenced by linguistics and psycholinguistics, and they often look for relationships between the development of language and thinking strategies in the child. Their experiments, therefore, are frequently designed to demonstrate aspects of this assumed relationship. (Readers may be reminded by this of the Edward Sapir-Benjamin Lee Whorf proposition which linked the structure of thinking with the structure of language and the attempts during the 1950's to develop empirical evidence relevant to this proposition using as experimental subjects native speakers of different languages.) We wish to point out that the experimental psychologists who study thinking, although they have been stimulated and influenced by the work of Piaget and his followers, have not generally made hierarchical assumptions like those of Piaget and others about the development of cognitive functioning. They are more likely to suggest that so little is known at present about the nature of thinking that grand theories about how thinking develops are premature. The experimental tasks which they use in their research are single-purpose--invented for a particular experiment or series of experiments--and there is no temptation to turn the tasks into standard tests of the adequacy in some person or group of one or another kind of mental functioning. It is this methodological style that has been adopted by Cole et al. (1971) in their study of learning and thinking among members of a non-Western cultural group.

Theirs was the fortunate combination of anthropological commitments and methods with the experimental techniques of cognitive psychology that led to the uncovering of new evidence relating to cultural differences in thinking. The position that the new evidence points to is, for most psychologists, quite radical; instead of explaining why cultural differences in cognitive strategies (or mental deficiencies) exist, it calls into question the assumption that the differences exist in the first place.

Cole, Gay, Glick and Sharp (1971) follow what they call the "common sense dictum" that people's skills at tasks will differ with the culture's emphasis on such tasks, and argue that these "tests and experiments [are] specially contrived occasions for the manifestation of cognitive skills.... Failure to become not an illustration of cultural inferiority [but rather evidence that the skills] are available but for some reason the content [of the tests] does not trigger their use."

The focus of their effort was on the Kpelle people of central Liberia, a tribal group which numbers about 250,000. Liberia was founded early in the 19th century as a haven for freed American slaves; its official language is English, and many of its institutions, including its schools, are American in origin and character. Contact between Americo-Liberians and the Kpelle people was fairly simple until World War II. Since then, a network of roads has been built into Kpelle-land, and many Kpelle have abandoned traditional ways and become part of the national economy. The Kpelle, therefore, are a people in transition. Villages remote from the roads have remained more or less traditional, with upland rice agriculture as the primary basis of sustenance. Closer to or on the roads, transition villages exist in which traditional and non-traditional Kpelle live side by side. Non-traditional

Kpelle are also found in urban centers. Many have graduated from high school and have attended college. Kpelle school children are generally held in the first grade until they have mastered enough of the curriculum to continue; their average age in the first grade is nine and in the second grade twelve. (This fact occasions a methodological digression. While students of learning and thinking have increasingly felt that cross-cultural research was necessary in order that their developmental theory not be culture bound, they have more frequently failed to do anything to make their own research truly cross cultural. The present research avoids the chief pitfall of much earlier research--uncontrolled comparison. Since the average age of second-grade children is twelve and of first-grade children nine, cross-cultural comparisons which assume the same relationship between age and education in both cultures would be meaningless. But by comparing within the Kpelle groups, Cole, et al., are able to investigate the effect of various factors without intercultural confounding.) The dominant teaching style is rote learning of a set sequence of facts. Many children drop out of school after the fourth grade, and most by the seventh grade, for economic, social, or academic reasons. Many children, particularly in the remote areas, do not attend school at all.

It is important to understand what "school" means in this cultural setting.

The curriculum in the Liberian school is set by the Department of Education and follows very closely the pattern of American schools. Textbooks are almost always American, either castoffs or new books, and their content is at best marginally relevant to the Kpelle child's world. [Since] national

examinations...determine the content of instruction...the students greatly resent a teacher straying from the specific material upon which they will be examined... The teacher speaks one variety of Liberian English, children speak [other] varieties and the textbooks are written in standard [American] English.

Such practices sometimes lead to absurd extremes:

A child who was asked to recite the multiplication tables for his teacher began "la-di-da-di-da, la-di-da-di-da," at which point the teacher interrupted to ask him what he was saying. He responded that he knew the tune but he did not yet know the words.

When the child graduates from the sixth grade, he takes a national examination which decides if he may continue his education, usually away from home, and, therefore, from the traditional culture. Although Cole, et al. do not make much of this, through these restrictions the school system effectively creates national elites. The break with traditional culture tends to occur among school children if they continue their education beyond the sixth grade. Thus, Kpelle children and adults can be divided by age, literacy, life-style, degree of education, and urbanization, so that the effects of all these factors can be studied without leaving the group of people under study. The fact the decision to continue or not continue in school is most frequently a non-academic one makes differences due to amount of schooling easier to interpret.

Cole and his colleagues present a brief ethnography of the Kpelle which provided them with some clues (there could be more for the reader) about what to look for in the investigation of complex forms of Kpelle thinking, and where to look for it. The ethnography also makes clear that asking the traditional adult Kpelle questions is a rather tricky business, since knowledge

is considered a source of power and prestige and secrecy is an important factor in daily life; asking someone how he knows the answer to a question can be tantamount to asking him to reveal the secret sources of his information, which he may not do. Traditional Kpelle value clever speech and argumentative skills very highly, and exercise them in presenting and judging disputes in informal and formal settings. Although the authors have reported a court case in one of the later chapters as an example of the use of evidence and logic among the traditional Kpelle, most of the study is experimental rather than observational in method, and this may disappoint some anthropologists.

More than sixty studies, in which more than 3,300 persons participated, are reported by the authors, including several which, for various comparative purposes, use as subjects non-Kpelle persons (American school children, Vai adults, and Yucatec Mayan adults). Some of the experiments are concerned with effects of the demographic factors we have described (education, age, etc.), and some with the effects of stimulus characteristics, methods of presentation, and so on. Many of the studies investigate both demographic and other factors simultaneously, in order to detect interactions between them. The studies are concerned with a wide variety of topics within three broad categories: classification of objects, learning and memory, and logic and inference. What is perhaps the most important aspect of these studies is that they were conducted and are reported in series, with the first exploratory study on a problem leading to other studies, sometimes quite a number of them. The approach can be illustrated with a set of experiments on memory, which we believe is important for a number of reasons.

The authors began with a free recall task which was administered to non-literate and educated Kpelle subjects of three age ranges: six- to eight-year olds, ten- to fourteen-year olds, and adults. Half of the subjects in

each group worked with a list of twenty objects that was clusterable into categories of objects (utensils, tools, clothing, and food) and half worked with a similar list that was not clusterable. The experimenter read the list of items to be recalled at a rate of two seconds per item, and then the subject was asked to recall the list. Each subject received the same list five times, each time in a different order. Various measures of performance were used: the number of correctly recalled items, the subjects' tendency to recall the items in the order they had been presented, and the tendency to recall items in clusters (in the case of the clusterable list); the tendency for subjects to recall an item as a function of its serial position in the list was also calculated. The results of the experiment were very puzzling. Recall was not high. It increased slightly with age and education and was slightly greater for the clusterable list, but there was only a slight improvement over the five trials; and unlike the results of corresponding studies done in the United States and similar cultures, there was no relation between the serial position of the word and the recall accuracy associated with it. Furthermore, there was no tendency for subjects to recall clusterable lists in clusters--a result very different from what has been obtained with American or European subjects.

In order to discover whether the relatively poor performances of subjects in the first study was due to the fact that they had to remember lists of words, the authors repeated and extended a portion of the first experiment. Only the clusterable list was used; half the subjects recalled the words as before, and half were silently shown the objects the words named. Further, for half the verbal group and half the object group, the clusterable stimuli were presented next to one another in the list--food

items together, tools together, etc. The remaining subjects received the stimuli in random order as in the first study. Ten- to fourteen-year old literate and nonliterate boys were used as subjects. Again results were markedly different from typical American data. Memory was poor in terms of the number of items recalled, and there was little improvement with successive trials. Recall of the items in clusters appeared only when they were presented as objects with the same category items juxtaposed. In this experiment, no differences emerged between educated and nonliterate subjects in total amount recalled, but the educated subjects did manifest a serial-position effect similar to that of American subjects.

Obviously, many factors could have been controlling this exceedingly complex pattern of results. So the authors began to conduct studies to see what was happening, and more particularly, to try to isolate the conditions under which Kpelle subjects would in fact behave like American subjects in the way they recalled lists of words. They began by doing the earlier experiments, using similarly developed lists, with American subjects (as well as with Mexican Indian and Vai subjects). The Americans showed an orderly development of free recall learning; by the third grade, they did as well as the Kpelle groups, and older subjects performed far better in amount recalled and with the expected organizational pattern. Why were the Kpelle subjects not improving with trials, and not remembering in clusters? One set of hypotheses was motivational in character: Perhaps one needs to have several years of schooling before free recall begins to be organized in the way it is among Americans. Still other hypotheses led to experiments which varied the way the tasks were presented.

Two experiments were then conducted with Kpelle subjects, in which money was offered as incentive for good recall performance. The results were exactly parallel to those in the earlier experiments. Then urban Kpelle were compared with traditional Kpelle: The former group performed slightly better, but in essence not differently. Then Kpelle high school students were compared with nonliterate age mates in two further studies. The high school group performed much better, and, in fact, performed in ways that were similar to the performances of Americans. Now the authors clearly had a different problem: What influences good recall? To suggest that "schooling" does is, of course, uninformative. Schooling consists, after all, of a great many things. Always mindful of the anthropologist's faith that people everywhere have similar cognitive abilities, the authors phrased their question in this way: "Are there circumstances under which nonliterate, traditional people will manifest some or all of the organizational features of recall produced by the Kpelle high school students and older American groups?"

When they discovered that asking subjects to place the items in a bucket or to sort them into cups had a large effect on both recall and clustering, the authors turned to the work of psychologist George Mandler for their next clues. Mandler points out that remembering involves retrieval as well as storage, and that a rememberer must have retrieval cues in order to recall material. In a new experiment, the authors held the objects presented for recall over four chairs, so that each item was said to "belong to" a particular chair. Both objects and words were used (objects held silently for a couple of seconds over the chair to which they "belonged"). For half the subjects, a rule was followed such that all the

items that belong to the same categories were associated with a particular chair, and for the other half, the association of item to chair was random. Both literate and nonliterate traditional ten- to fourteen-year-olds served as subjects. For both groups, presenting the items in category groupings with the chairs produced data that were very much like American data; recall improved dramatically with trials, and showed strong clustering effects. There then followed a long series of studies. In one of them, which varied the method of presentation and the number of chairs, all experimental conditions produced high recall rates, learning rates, and near-perfect clustering. The authors concluded from this study and others that experimenter differences sometimes have strong effects on recall. The point of the chairs, of course, is that they seemed to serve as retrieval cues for these subjects. It appears that one of the effects of substantial schooling is to train students to use single words as retrieval cues for other words; for nonliterate Kpelle, the retrieval function was served by material objects. The next series of studies investigated among Americans as well as Kpelle the effects of various kinds of verbal cueing for recall. Then the word lists were embedded (in still another group of studies) in narrative stories. The way the words were recalled matched the way in which they were structured in the story.

These studies are by no means complete--they do not solve the puzzles to the complete satisfaction of the authors or other investigators. But, in addition to making some contributions to the general literature on the organization of recall of this kind, they show with great clarity that the nonliterate "primitives" being studied are not intrinsically different from literate Americans in the way they remember. What is striking is that the

first few studies were unanimous in suggesting that such differences did indeed exist. It was only the perseverance, faith, and energy of this group of investigators that finally exposed the easy assumptions they might have made about these apparent differences.

Such instances appear several times in the book. Some Kpelle children and adults, for instance, seem to have trouble dealing with certain kinds of apparently simple verbal logic problems, for example:

"Flumo and Yakpalo always drink cane juice [rum] together. Flumo is drinking cane juice. Is Yakpalo drinking cane juice?" One subject answered "Flumo and Yakpalo drink cane juice together, but the time Flumo was drinking the first one Yakpalo was not there on that day."

Many subjects did not respond to the logical relations contained in the verbal problems, but responded to other things instead. However, when given such problems in groups rather than individually, subjects seemed to have very little difficulty with them; for example:

"Everyone in the town eats rice. The chief is in the town; therefore, the chief eats rice." The answer was, "Yes, it is true because it is said that everyone in the town eats rice. The chief is included in that number."

The authors' report on Kpelle logical thinking during a court case also makes clear that traditional Kpelle use evidence, make inferences, and test conclusions just as we do. Furthermore, a report of the details of play of a highly complex game (similar in some ways to the Japanese game of Gc) suggests that good players are fine logical strategists. What is impressive is that the authors did not stop working until they had at least begun to

uncover conditions under which their subjects' intellectual processing is similar to that of Americans and Europeans. This research strategy is particularly striking when contrasted to that of the cross-cultural intelligence testers, who simply take their homegrown testing kits to the other culture, administer the tests, and report the results: The others are not as smart as we are.

The Cole, et al., research is meticulous. Further, it is generally bound to some portion of the recent research literature in psychology, and frequently makes contributions to that literature. We must point out, for all our enthusiasm, that the book has many minor flaws. Experimental procedures are sometimes incompletely described, the numbers of subjects run are often omitted, the tables are frequently poorly labeled, and the data are often only skimpily analyzed; one gets the impression that there is much in this material that remains untapped. In addition, experiments and interpretations of results that are reported are frequently difficult to follow, of simply unsatisfying. The reader is left with the impression that some of the studies were designed without much forethought; the connections among experiments are sometimes rather unclear. Finally, the admittedly unorthodox ethnography is inadequate. The authors did not fully do what they set out to do: to use the ethnography as a guide to experimentation. Too often a standard experimental task is initially given to subjects, and the ethnography is used to explain the results and to think of other possible experiments. Further, the ethnography presented in the book is largely limited to information which the authors use later on in their analyses. This deprives the reader of additional material with which he might be able to construct his own alternative explanations (a hallmark of good ethnography).

The major implication of the work, however, is crucial, speaking to the questions of so-called "cultural inferiority" and "cultural deprivation" which are bandied about so frequently by scholars, educators, and laymen alike. It is possible, and even likely, that the idea of cultural deprivation is a consequence of our misunderstanding, our ignorance, of the way the culture (or subculture) works with respect to the intellectual functioning of its members. In typically ethnocentric fashion, we condemn without expending the energy necessary to understand; our immediate impulse is to strike down these cultural differences, and substitute ours for theirs, as if an instrument had no effect and simply "measured intelligence."

The issues raised by studies reviewed here are of direct concern to educators who desire to understand how learning goes on and how it can be measured. The results are therefore providing an ever deepening foundation for the study of socialization, to which we now turn.

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II. Socialization

The person approaching the study of socialization for the first time enters a superficially simple but actually quite complicated set of theoretical and methodological problems. It is easier to assert that the socialization process is a prerequisite of social life than it is to study it and substantiate how it occurs. The biggest problem is, of course, that while our science has acquired the belief "the child is father to the man"; studies which actually study the same adults when they were children (longitudinal studies) are as extremely expensive as they are extremely rare. In psychology Kagan and Moss (1961) report on the best known attempt, the Fels study, but generally the field of socialization does not rely on fullscale longitudinal studies to demonstrate its basic assumption as much as it relies on common sense belief.

The study of socialization is necessary only to the degree that we believe there is some usefulness in the idea that what happens to an individual when he is a child affects what he does as an adult. Not all behaviors may require this approach, some are "situation specific" and do not obviously require appeal to explanations dealing with personality of individual actors. However, the studies reviewed here aim to assess the usefulness of the socialization approach to various problems of relevance to education.

Some Factors in Socialization

John Honigmann's (1967) "assumption of cumulative influence" stresses the continuous character of a person's life and that prior events influence and limit what a person later becomes. Clearly, however, not all experiences

are equally potent predictors of later behavior. Therefore one job for a theory of socialization is to specify (or discover) which experiences are critical and which are not. As one might expect there are various theories of socialization, and each can offer us different accounts of which experiences are more crucial than others. We will return to this below.

The timing of experiences can have an effect independent of the experience itself, and this introduces a variable of order (development) and age. At its most obvious, a lecture on human rights can be expected to have greater impact (so far as a lecture can ever have an impact) on a 13-year old than on a 13-day old. It follows from this that certain learning depends upon the development of the child's ability to learn, and that learning of certain behaviors or processes may occur only if the child has acquired a prior skill or knowledge. Certain ages may be critical for the learning of certain skills, and learning may accelerate at certain ages. A corollary of these points is that what has been learned at any given point can determine (e.g., by screening out certain new ideas) what learning will follow. Thus the processes of perceptual development reviewed above are an important part of socialization (see Adler and Harrington 1970: 16ff) for an explicit use of perception in a socialization model). As we learn to cope appropriately with the options available to us in one culture, we can lose sight of or lose the ability to conceptualize options that cannot be in our own society.

The dimension of time is another factor in socialization. Rautman and Bower (1951) report on a replication of a study done by the same investigators in 1943. The results showed that there was definitely less

preoccupation with war themes in 1950 than in 1943. Analysis of the children's TAT story endings showed that the 1950 sample was more inclined to give happy endings than was the 1943 sample. Cultural differences are gross exaggerations of such historical effects of time within a culture. Culture changes not only the content of what is learned, but beliefs and values, and the ordering of learning itself.

The study of socialization is more than the study of how individuals learn particular ways of life but it is basic to our understanding of how societies perpetuate themselves by making particular kinds of humans as opposed to others. This is why the study of socialization is not concerned (as is some of psychology) with the learning of behavior idiosyncratic to an individual, but rather those behaviors which are meaningful to other members of a society, i.e., part of the social process. Socialization then is here conceptualized not as a filling of an empty vessel with a pre-set picture of a society but a dynamic process by which individuals learn to structure reality in ways which enable them to properly sort out and make sense of the diversity of stimuli which form his environment, and behave in ways congruent with others' expectations of them in the social process. Because a complete "description" of a society is probably never possible, students of socialization processes have found it increasingly necessary to delimit the field of what is being learned, and rather than studying socialization in general, to study socialization of particular kinds of role behaviors, e.g., sex role socialization, and religious socialization.

Students of the socialization process use concepts of personality to show how this knowledge is required. Their further commitment is to

show how a society induces its members willingly to accept these responsibilities. The question becomes one of the integration of society. As Schwartz and Merten (1968:1120) have phrased it: "How does a society make its members feel that the status they eventually must occupy is desirable as well as inevitable?" Relevant, then, are accurate descriptions of social structure, the interaction of individuals and groups, variations and cycles within groups, and the choices available to actors at various structural positions. The study of socialization process and personality as thus described has been over the years a major concern of psychological anthropology, and the literature to be reviewed here is immense.

Psychological anthropology emerged from a subfield of anthropology called "culture and personality." The main theoretical difference between the old label and the new, as well as between work done, say, prior to 1955 and work done more recently, is reflected in the difference between two concepts, coined by Wallace in 1961, "replication of uniformity" and "organization of diversity." Wallace argued that works which assumed that the process of socialization was the accomplishment of the replication of culture in the individual personality, with the corollary that each member of a culture was a uniform replication of every other, were elevating a tautology to the level of theory. Was personality really culture writ small? Was culture really personality writ large? Various theorists tried to obviate the necessity for replication of uniformity assumptions, and the search was heightened as anthropologists worked in increasingly complex societies. Kardiner and Linton's "basic personality type: (Kardiner 1939) was an effort to provide a theoretical understanding that certain basics were

shared (read replicated) in every member of a culture, with individual differences emerging from "fringes" around the basics. DuBois' model personality was an effort to provide a statistical description of a central tendency around which a culture's members could vary. However, by the 60's these adjustments had become stretched to the point where something better was needed. This is not to suggest that, e.g., Kardiner and Linton's models did not continue to exert an effect. Indeed the Whiting model of socialization discussed below is in other respects a direct descendant from the Kardiner model. However, by the 60's the field had become more conscious of and more interested in within culture variations, and a recognition that "personality" and "cognitive map" were concepts which, while relatable to culture, were not synonymous with it.

This led to Wallace's conceptualization of culture as the organization of diversity (of individual personalities). In this conceptualization behavioral expectations are shared, and the personality or cognitive map which produces individual behaviors is acknowledged as diverse (and while not for Wallace, for us potentially unknowable----see above). This does not prevent the theorist from theorizing that people behave as they do because of a particular personality variable. It emphasizes that the test of the theory is how well that behavior is predicted, and that a successful prediction does not mean that all those behaving in a particular way are behaving in that way for the personality reason given. This conceptualization is responsive to our discussion of cognition above. This kind of theoretical conceptualization inevitably led to more statistical kinds of analyses, more careful data gathering, and the greater methodological rigor

that come to characterize the field of psychological anthropology throughout the sixties into the present.

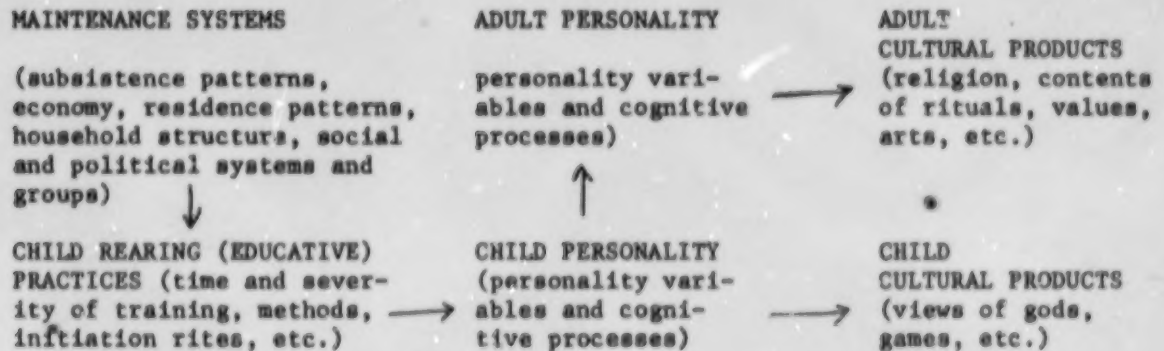
Whiting's Model

The anthropological model of socialization most relevant to educational inquiry explicates that position that education is embedded in a sociocultural matrix and is therefore integral to the study of the integration of society. The mode of education, or child training practices in Whiting's model, is seen as arising in any particular culture setting, from the maintenance systems of the particular culture. To say this is to emphasize two points: 1) that any study of "education" which does not take into account its cultural context is incomplete, and 2) that since maintenance systems give rise to education more than vice-versa, educational systems are not a useful point to initiate change. This point becomes crucial in an examination of much of the recent literature on education. To criticize the schools for their failures, and to demand change, overlooks the functions and interrelationships that the schools serve and have within the larger society. This is not to say that abuses in schools cannot be corrected or that reform is impossible. It is to say that for change to occur (as opposed to reform) a change in the society (maintenance systems) is prerequisite to change in educational structures. Wallace's widely known 1961 article makes a similar point to Whiting's model by emphasizing that the goal of schools will be different in what he calls conservative, reactionary and revolutionary societies, in which the type of society determines the type of schooling and not vice-versa. The advantage of Whiting's formulation for educators is that it includes all education, not just schooling, in its scope. Thus, John Herzog (1962) was able to show that the type of instruction (whether deliberate or not, whether done by kin or not)

varied by household type and type of society. This study provides empirical support for two points: (1) that type of education is determined by type of society and (2) that types (i.e., deliberate instruction) must be considered in the total context of child training practices of a society and not as synonymous with them.

The Whiting Model

Figure 1



Maintenance systems are described by Whiting and Child as the "economic, political, and social organizations of a society surrounding the nourishment, sheltering and protection of its members." From structural anthropology (both the British and American Version) come working models and actual descriptions of maintenance systems. Examples of maintenance systems from the following sections include household composition, sexual division of labor, and residence patterns. Child Training Practices, in the broadest sense, are what is done to the child to bring about the behavior necessary for social life. In the term child training is implicit some intent on the part of the parent or surrogate, and some goal presumably defined by the

culture. Schools, the fact that initial child training is done by women, and initiation rites, are examples of child training practices. Personality is the model of what the individual assimilates and of how he organizes what happens to him. In a sense, "personality" may be conceptualized as an individual's adaptation to his socialization. Here the study of socialization depends upon psychological anthropologists and through them, upon the field of psychology itself, so that personality can be expressed in terms of measured variables. Such a personality variable is sex identity. Cultural Products include religion, cultural values, art, games, or any other cultural features not immediately and practically involved in the satisfaction of basic biological needs. In the study of male initiation rites the value of male solidarity would be an example, as well as the symbolic content of the initiation rites themselves.

While many psychological anthropologists would argue over fine points, most would agree that education can only be studied as part of an overall socialization process designed to meet goals specific to the culture examined. We have arbitrarily chosen to order the relevant studies of childhood socialization in terms of the progression from infancy to later childhood, beginning, therefore, with those studies related to the treatment of infants. These provide basic data for early learning specialists. As the model suggests, our review will focus on two main factors: (1) antecedents of child training practices and (2) consequences of them.

Infancy

Values, symbols and religious systems from Durkheim onward have been recognized as reflecting social life. Here, the relationship between such systems and child training is explored. For a long time psychologists,

particularly those of Freudian persuasion, have assumed that the nature of the gods and their relation to man is a reflection or projection of the child's parental image and, hence, predictable from the relation between parent and child during infancy and early childhood. Several cross-cultural studies have attempted to put this hypothesis to the test (Spiro and D'Andrade 1958; Lambert, Triandis and Wolf 1959; and Whiting 1959a). Each of these studies tends to support the general hypothesis that harsh parental treatment during infancy leads to the cultural belief that the spirit world is harsh and aggressive. Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), using the Whiting and Child (1957) "initial satisfaction of dependence" as a score for estimating the degree to which infants are indulged, found that societies that were judged to be relatively high on the above score tended to believe that the behavior of the gods was contingent upon the behavior of humans and that gods could be controlled by the performance of compulsive rituals. Such societies did not propitiate the gods. The authors argue that the adult's treatment of the gods is, therefore, a reflection of an infant's relation to his parents. In other words, infants who are treated indulgently by their parents, that is, whose parents respond to them when they cry or show discomfort, when they grow up feel they can be equally successful in controlling the supernaturals. Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959) used a score taken from Barry, Bacon and Child (1957) for estimating the relation between the infant and his caretakers, consisting of a judgment of the degree to which they treated him harshly or painfully. They found that societies in which infants were treated painfully believed in gods which were judged to be more aggressive than benevolent toward human beings. Again the gods seem to reflect the parental treatment of infants. Finally, Whiting (1959a), using still a different score for infant

indulgence, reports a finding consistent with this hypothesis. The score in this study was also from Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957) and was an over-all judgment of the degree to which an infant was indulged by his caretakers. It was reported that societies high in the over-all indulgence of infants tended not to fear ghosts at funerals. The assumption here is that funeral ghosts are, like the gods in the previous studies, a projection of the parental image. Invoking a personality link other than "projection," Hamer (1969) reports that the Potawatomi Indians reinforce dependent behavior through highly nurturant treatment of infants then reinforce independent, seclusive behavior, resulting in high dependency needs coupled with a fear they will not be met. He argues that dependency needs used to be met by internalizing a guardian spirit who becomes responsible for one's actions, but in recent times alcohol has provided the means for expressing dependency, an example of what happens when the fit between infancy needs and religion disintegrates.

The next problem is to discover whether or not there is any relationship between social structure of a culture and the degree to which infants are indulged. It was suggested by Murdock and Whiting (1951) that the economic and ceremonial duties of the mother might have some bearing on the amount of time she could spend in caring for her child, and tentative results based on a small number of cases tended to confirm this hypothesis. They report (pp. 33-35) that societies in which mothers have few economic responsibilities and are little involved in the life of the tribe tend to be more indulgent with their infants than in societies where mothers have such responsibilities. They also reported that there was a tendency for large extended families where there were many hands

to care for the infant to treat him more indulgently. Murdock (1957), however, published judgments on the family and household structure for a large number of societies. Using them, Whiting (1961) found that the degree of infant indulgence is roughly proportional to the number of adults living in the household. Munroe and Munroe (n.d.) investigated whether this effect is present within a single culture as well as across cultures. Working with a small sample (12) in an East African society they visited households and noted (1) whether or not children were being held by someone and (2) how long it took for someone to comfort children after they started to cry. Using these as measures of indulgence, even with such small numbers, they found that children were significantly more often held and more promptly attended to in large households than in small.

Minturn and Lambert (1964) found for a sample of 76 societies and in an analysis of the Six Culture Study data that "mothers spend less time with children when other women were available to help." According to the Six Cultures Study data, mothers may become unstable when forced to spend long periods of time in caring for their children without help; maternal stability also seems definitely related to the number of children she must care for. Since lack of maternal warmth is also associated with responsibility for a large number of children, there may be an interaction of maternal stability and warmth, with optimal conditions for both being a limited number of children, to care for and in the presence of some help in the household like a grandparent, but not too many caretakers, for mothers without privacy in the raising of their children, they found, are relatively muted in their emotional expression to the child when compared with mothers with more privacy.

In another study of the treatment of infants, Whiting et al. (1958) found that in most societies over the world infants sleep in the same bed or on the same sleeping mat with their mothers. Even where an infant has a cradle or cot of his own, this is generally placed next to the mother's bed within easy reach. The sleeping distance between a mother with her nursing infant and her husband, however, is more varied. In slightly over half of the societies of the world the husband sleeps either in a bed in the same room, but at some distance from his wife, or in another room. This might be called an exclusive mother-infant sleeping arrangement. These in turn are related to the presence of polygyny (Whiting 1964). Whiting, Kluckhohn and Anthony hypothesized that such sleeping arrangements would indicate a strong identification of the child with the mother.

Barry and Paxson (1971) present new codes on 186 societies on such variables as sleeping proximity, bodily restrictiveness, bodily contact, carrying technique, crying, pain infliction, post-partum sex taboos, special procedures, new foods, weaning, motor skills, autonomy, elimination control, covering of genitals, non-maternal relationships, role of father, principle relationships and indulgence of infants. Their paper also routinely reports intercorrelations among the variables coded. Barry and Roberts (1972) use those codes for a study of infant socialization and games of chance. They conceptualize games of chance as an expression of infantile dependence and social isolation during infancy (e.g., early modesty training), coupled with later emphasis on responsibility and obedience. They relate their findings to a motivational explanation of compulsive gambling in our own society.

A series of experiments showing that animals stressed during infancy subsequently grew more rapidly and eventually attained greater skeletal length than an unstressed control group, led to two cross-cultural studies on a sample of societies in each major area of the world (Landauer and Whiting 1964; Gunders and Whiting 1964). The hypothesis was apparently confirmed. Adult males were on the average two inches taller in societies having stress inducers in infancy than societies not having such practices. This association was statistically independent of differences in climate, mode of subsistence, estimated diet and race. One of the growth-correlated stress-inducers in the cross-cultural studies was vaccination (see Landauer 1973) or inoculation for smallpox or other diseases, which is believed to cause a stress response through its systematic involvement in immune reactions and their side effects. Subsequently, the relation between infantile immunization and adult stature was studied by reanalyzing data from the Fels study and Berkeley longitudinal studies of child development (Whiting and Landauer 1968). Again a positive correlation was found between early immunization and terminal stature, this time with parental height controlled statistically.

Turning from biological to socio-cultural consequences of stress in infancy, Ayres has found (1968) a relationship between stress and kinds of music. Infant stress leads to a wider range of styles of singing and polyphony; no stress, to monotonic singing. Ayres (1973) deals with one aspect of music, rhythm. It presents and tests the hypothesis that cross-cultural variation in rhythm is related to variation in infant carrying practices. It answers questions concerning the psychological origin of rhythm and suggests an explanation for the function and importance of music

in human experience. The hypothesis investigated in this study predicts that cross-cultural variation in the frequency and importance of regular rhythm in music will be related to variation in early somatosensory stimulation derived from body contact with the mother or other care takers. The extent and nature of such stimulation varies from one society to another depending upon the frequency and manner in which infants are held and carried. This formulation assumes that regular rhythm in music is modeled on the sensation of regular up-and-down or side-to-side motion, which the infant experiences while being carried. Reinforcement theory suggests that the more such sensations are associated with rewards derived from contact, feeding, and temperature maintenance, the greater will be the required reward value of regular rhythm, that is, its ability to evoke feelings of relaxation and pleasure. Societies in which infants are carried, either in the mother's arms or in a sling or shawl, have higher scores on regular rhythm than societies in which infants are kept in bassinets, cradleboards, or cradles. The findings suggest that a major psychological function of rhythm is to promote feelings of security and satisfaction and to reduce anxiety and tension through an unconscious association with pleasurable early experience, a finding rife with educational implications.

Further cross-cultural research on infancy is indicated since it is now generally conceded that adequate physical growth and psychological development in the earliest months of life profoundly influence subsequent growth and development in later years (see Werner 1972). For example, malnutrition resulting from disease, an inadequate diet, or a combination of the two is thought to interfere with the optimal development of the central nervous system. Similarly adequate social and physical stimulation in the earliest months

is considered to be one crucial element for the development of cognitive and votive abilities in the young child. The definition of these adequate physical and social nutrients remains an unknown not only for the more developed societies, but especially for the developing societies where even the most rudimentary information on these phenomena are frequently lacking.

Early Childhood

Proceeding to the next stage in the life of the child, many cross-cultural studies concern the age at which societies begin the serious training of their children. Age of training has been related to the expression of guilt in cultural products such as religious beliefs, explanations of illness, and folk tales. Whiting and Child (1953), taking as their measure the degree to which a patient was believed to be responsible for causing his own illness (presumably indicating his readiness to accept blame), found that societies with early weaning, early independence training, and early training in modesty with the inhibition of heterosexual play were those that tended to have this kind of explanation for illness. The age of toilet training was not found to be significantly related. Whiting and Child (1953) tentatively explained this relationship by a process of identification. Anticipating Whiting's (1960) status-envy hypothesis, they argued that parents should seem more powerful to a very young child than to an older one who has already learned, to a degree at least, to cope with the environment by himself. Thus, early socialization should produce stronger identification and, hence, guilt over contravening parental values. It is again possible to relate this association to household structure. Whiting (1959a) reports

that household structure is a significant determinant of the age of socialization. Nuclear households are earliest for both weaning (median age two years) and independence training (median age 2 years 9 months) and mother-child households are the latest. On the average they do not begin to wean their children until they are three-years old nor start training them in independence until they are four and one half. Extended and polygynous households fall in between these two extremes for both weaning and independence training.

By combining the scores for five behavior systems, Whiting and Child (1953) developed an index of over-all socialization anxiety as a measure of severity of childhood socialization. Barry (1957) reports that the decorative art forms of societies that are generally severe in training their children tend to be complex, which supports Ayres' work previously reported for infancy. The game forms are also more complex with severe socialization (Sutton-Smith & Roberts, in press). Friendly (1956) shows that such societies tended to have ascetic mourning customs. The relation of social institutions such as household structure to over-all socialization anxiety has not as yet been investigated. Fischer (1959), using the Barry (1957) score on complexity of social organization, however, reports that complexity in social organization, however, reports that complexity in social structure is reflected in the complexity of decorative art. The presence of status distinctions based on wealth, social class membership, or heredity tends to result in complex designs in contrast to those from societies with no rank distinctions at all, or rank distinctions based on age alone. Sutton-Smith and Roberts (in press) also find as you add game-types cross-culturally, there is an increased severity in socialization as well as complexity of social structure.

Another over-all measure of severity of socialization in early childhood, "transition anxiety," is provided by Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957). This is an estimate of the degree of pressure exerted upon the child during his change of status from infancy to childhood. Whiting and his co-workers (1966b) show transition anxiety to be related to household structure. They report that societies with nuclear households are significantly more severe on this score than are societies with extended family households. It has already been pointed out that societies with nuclear family household begin independence training early. It now seems that they are generally severe as well, suggesting that strong pressures in child rearing toward independence are necessary if a couple are to set up an independent establishment.

Another hypothesis relating to the severity of socialization is Whiting and Child's hypothesis of negative fixation. Estimates of the severity of socialization were made by Whiting and Child (1953) with respect to oral, anal, sexual, aggression, and independence training. The presumed effect of severe training was that of "negative fixation" or the anxious preoccupation with the type of behavior system severely punished. The hypothesis was based upon the presumed effects of intrapsychic conflict rather than on stages of psychosexual development (as oral, anal, genital). They postulated that the conflict induced by punishment during the socialization process of habits learned in infancy produces a persistent motivation activating behavior in adulthood in some way related to the conflict and presumably functionally defensive in nature.

Explanations for illness and therapeutic techniques were chosen by Whiting and Child (1953) as aspects which might reflect fixation. A

content analysis of magical beliefs and practices relating to illness was made for each society with the five behavior systems in mind. Judging the severity of socialization for each system, the following factors were taken into consideration: intensity and frequency of punishment, suddenness of the transition from behavior appropriate to infancy and that to later childhood, and signs of emotional disturbance on the part of the child.

In general the fixation hypothesis was supported. The severity of weaning (oral anxiety) was strongly related to "oral explanations for illness." Such oral explanations included the belief that sickness is caused by the ingestion of magically poisoned food or by the verbal spells and incantations of sorcerers. Rosenblatt (1966) found oral anxiety associated with importance of romantic love as basis for marriage. The severity of aggression training (aggression socialization anxiety), which includes the treatment of temper tantrums, physical and verbal aggression, damage to property, and disobedience, was related to explanations for illness involving aggressions. These included hostility toward or disobedience to spirits, poison (if introjected into the patient rather than being ingested), and the use of magical weapons by a sorcerer. The severity of independence training was shown to be related to dependence explanations for illness, a measure which includes the belief that illness could be caused by "soul stealing" or by "spirit possession." The negative fixation hypothesis was not confirmed in the other two systems of behavior. However, there was some indication that relevant avoidance in the anal and sexual behavior systems was used as a therapeutic practice. Societies with severe toilet training tend to have therapeutic practices involving washing or cleansing, the adherence to cleanliness taboos, or the retention of feces, and societies with severe sex training

is associated with elaborate menstrual taboos, and Ayres (1954) showed this child-rearing measure to be related to prolonged sex taboos during pregnancy. Each of these may be viewed as an index of negative fixation. Allen (1967) found a strong negative relationship between "ego strength" and childhood socialization anxiety.

A strong association between the severity of aggression training and household structure has been reported by Whiting (1959b). Nine-two percent of the extended families in the sample used are above the median on the punishment for aggression. Nuclear households were least severe in this respect--only 25 percent of the cases being severe. In polygynous and mother-child households, 61 percent were above the median. Whiting et al. (1966) in an analysis of the Zuni extended family households suggests that the expression of aggression cannot be tolerated in circumstances where so many people are living in such crowded quarters. Minturn and Lambert tested this hypothesis in 1964 on a sample of 76 societies. They found that "children are severely punished for fighting with each other when many must share cramped living quarters." No social structural variable has as yet been reported to predict the severity of either toilet training or independence training.

Cross-cultural studies of the belief in sorcery and witchcraft have generally interpreted this belief in terms of the psychological mechanisms of projection and/or displacement. Two views of this mechanism have been put forth. One, derived essentially from behavior theory, assumes that fear of sorcerers occurs in societies where the direct expression of aggression is strongly inhibited and, hence, must be either attributed to others or

justified by being directed against criminal sorcerers. The other view, derived from psychoanalytic theory, is that belief in sorcery implies the personality variables associated with paranoia—sexual inhibition and latent or overt homosexuality. Whiting and Child (1953) were unable to decide between these two explanations. On the basis of their evidence, sorcery was found to be an important explanation for illness in societies where children were severely socialized with respect either to sex or aggression during childhood. The fact that severity of socialization in these two behavior systems are positively related to one another makes it difficult to disentangle their influence.

Whiting (1959a) presents some evidence in favor of the sex anxiety hypothesis, but the data are not very convincing. The most likely interpretation of the results so far is that there are in effect two kinds of projection, and that the distinction between them may correlate to that proposed to obtain between sorcery and witchcraft, the former being a result of the inhibition of aggression, the latter being associated with conflict in the area of sex. That sorcerers are more often male and witches female is suggestive in this regard. Shirley and Romney (1962) show love magic present with high sexual socialization anxiety (but see Bock 1967).

That aggression may be projected has been shown by Wright (1954), using a content analysis of folktales as an index. He showed that in societies with severe training in the control of aggression during childhood the hero in folktales does not direct his aggression toward friends but rather toward strangers or enemies, that a stranger rather than the hero was more likely to be the agent of aggression, and finally that the hero was less likely to

be triumphant. Whiting and Child (1953) report a similar finding. Societies with severe aggression training having the belief that spirits can cause illness tend to define the spirits as animal rather than human.

The social structure variables relating to severe socialization for sex and aggression have already been reported--the former is associated with polygyny, the latter with the extended family household. Direct relationships between social structural variables and sorcery beliefs were reported in two studies. Beatrice Whiting (1950), assuming that sorcery functions as a mechanism of social control, showed that a strong belief in sorcery occurs in societies lacking in mechanisms of social control that involve the delegation of authority for the judging and punishing of crime. She also showed that this pattern tended to occur in small rather than in large societies. Levine (1960) showed that sorcery tends to occur in societies that maximize jealousy between co-wives. In three East African societies similar in other respects, the preoccupation with sorcery was greatest among the Lup where co-wives ordinarily live miles apart. He also reports that, cross-culturally, sorcery is alleged to be a major cause of illness in 93 percent of the societies with polygynous households, 60 percent of the societies with mother-child households, 53 percent of the societies with extended family households, and only 36 percent of the societies with nuclear households. The total pattern for predicting sorcery beliefs thus seems to indicate that such beliefs are held in small societies with no formal systems of social control having either polygynous households and severe sex training or extended family households and severe training in the control of aggression.

Socialization in Later Childhood

An elaborate set of judgments about socialization during later childhood is provided by Berry, Bacon, and Child (1957). These judgments concern the manner in which a child is trained to be obedient, responsible, self-reliant, nurturant, and generally independent, as well as his training for achievement. For each of these behavior systems a separate judgment was made for the general pressure exerted upon the child, the severity of punishment for noncompliance, the performance level demanded, the amount of conflict and the frequency of response.

Separate judgments on the above scales were made for the treatment of boys and girls by Barry, Bacon and Child (1957). Significant differences in training were reported. These involved more stress upon nurturance, obedience, and responsibility for the girls and upon achievement and self-reliance for boys. Although they did not relate these differences to any projective system, they did report that large differences in the training of the sexes occur in societies where large animals are hunted, where grain rather than root crops are grown, where large or milking animals are kept, where fishing is unimportant or absent, where the settlement is nomadic rather than sedentary, and where polygyny is high. They interpreted those results as implying that differential training for boys and girls is required where superior strength and motor skill is involved or where a large family with a high degree of cooperation is required. Munroe, Whiting, and Hally (1969) found that societies that emphasized sex distinctions (in patterns of residence, in kin groups, in kinship terminology, in authority succession, in eating arrangements, and in attendance at birth) less often had institutionalize transvestism. "In general transvestism as a social form is not found in

societies that stress sex distinctions of the kind related....In societies where the sex distinctions are few, the behavior and/or conceptual categories of the individual predisposed to transvestism are already relatively near those of females, so that in becoming a transvestite the individual must change comparatively little....The degree of change involved probably affects the likelihood that a predisposed individual will become a transvestite and also the probability that the society members will tolerate the change" (Mumroe, Whiting, and Hally 1969:89).

Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959) in the study concerning the nature of the gods, discussed previously, report that the supernaturals are more aggressive in societies which put strong pressure upon the boys for self-reliance and independence. They also report an even stronger relationship in the same direction with a score which combines the pressures exerted in all six systems, that is, nurturance, obedience, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, and general independence. It is interesting that they assume the religious beliefs to be causal in this relationship, rather than a result of the child-training procedures, for they assume that a belief in aggressive gods requires training a child to be independent and self-reliant so that he can cope with a hostile world as an adult.

Bacon, Child, and Barry (1963) show that societies that severely punish their older children for disobedience, irresponsibility, lack of self-reliance, and lack of achievement are high in frequency of theft. Since they also find that a high frequency of theft is found in societies with low infancy indulgence and severe weaning, they interpret these findings as a reaction to emotional deprivation during infancy and childhood. Such anxieties, except for those associated with severe weaning, interestingly enough, are not related

to the frequency of personal crime in adults (see also Allen 1972). Child, Bacon and Barry (1965) found low indulgence of dependency and high achievement pressures related to drunkenness and general high alcohol consumption.

This supports their dependency anxiety explanation of alcoholism (Barry 1968).

In a series of studies, the anthropologist John Roberts and the psychologist Brian Sutton-Smith demonstrated a relationship between child training and children's games, using the Barry, Bacon and Child (1957) scales. Putting games into three categories (games of chance, games of strategy, and games of physical skill), they found that games of chance occur in societies where responsibility is highly rewarded in child training (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962 & 1966). Games of chance are seen as providing the player with an expression of conflict of attitudes toward responsibility, and an acting out of irresponsible, chance determined fantasies. (Compare feeling responsible with blaming failure as "bad luck.") Games of strategy are found in societies in which emphasis is placed on obedience in child training. Roberts and Sutton-Smith speculate that games of strategy reflect an anxiety about disobedience. Games of strategy enable the child to express aggression and other disobedient acts in play. Games of skill are found in societies in which reward for achievement is high. Such games are "a direct and micro-cosmic representation of achievement" played by individuals in conflict over achievement. Games are then seen as projections of anxieties engendered by severe socialization practices in child training.

Sipes (1973) reports a study investigating the relationships among war, sport, and aggression. Fundamentally the author is concerned with assessing which of two alternative explanations will be more successful at explaining

a relationship between the presence of warfare and the presence or absence of aggressive or combative sports. If combative sports are negatively correlated with war, then the author's "drive discharge model" would be operating which suggests that war type games "work off" aggressive drives, making war unnecessary. If combative sports are positively correlated with presence of war, then the explanatory link would view combative games as training for war. Implicitly at stake is a nature-nurture view of aggressive warfare. Is it basically a drive which can be rechanneled or is it a learned, indeed practiced, behavior? The data show a strong positive association between combative sports and the presence of war, supporting the position that aggression is a learned cultural behavior.

Relationships have also been demonstrated between socialization pressures in later childhood and the basic economic organization. Barry, Child, and Bacon (1959) state, "In considering the relation the relation of economy to adult role, and hence to child training, we felt that perhaps a variable of great significance is the extent to which food is accumulated and must be cared for" (Barry, Child, and Bacon 1959:52). To test this hypothesis, they classified societies on the basis of their subsistence activities, categorized according to the degree to which these implied an accumulation of food. Assuming that food "on the hoof" requires the greatest amount of care, societies that were mainly dependent upon animal husbandry were judged to be highest in this respect, and hunting and fishing societies were judged to be the lowest. Between these extremes a distinction was made between those societies depending upon a combination of agriculture, hunting, and fishing with the former assumed to be higher in food accumulation.

Comparing the societies with extreme scores (animal husbandry versus hunting and fishing as the subsistence economy), they showed that societies with a high accumulation of food put strong pressure upon their children to be responsible and obedient and were correspondingly low in stressing achievement in both boys and girls, independence in boys, and self-reliance in girls. They then constructed a general score which they called "pressure toward compliance versus assertion" by adding the scores on obedience and responsibility and subtracting from this sum the combined score on achievement and self-reliance. The striking relationship of this over-all compliance pressure to the degree to which food is accumulated is reported in Harrington and Whiting 1972.

They noted that the sample of societies rated high on the subsistence scale--those with animal husbandry and agriculture--is rather heavily weighted with cases from Africa. Perhaps, then, pressure toward compliance is an African culture trait and the demonstrated association is therefore spurious. With all African cases omitted from the sample, however, the association between subsistence economy and pressure in child training is still strong. Monroe and Munroe 1972 agree that among culture areas Africa is highest in socialization for compliance and report a within Kikuyu study linking high compliance in children to child participation in household activity (see also Green 1971).

Causality and Feedback

In postulating that there is a causal sequence in illustrating the model in Figure 1, Whiting justifies his logic as follows:

The correlational method used in cross-cultural research cannot, of course, show the direction of causation. It must rest upon other evidence suggesting the relative plausibility of one or the other assumption as to causal direction... temperature and climate cannot be reasonably assumed to be the effect of a custom. Any association between a climatic variable and a custom can plausibly be interpreted either as an effect of climate upon the custom or as an effect of climate upon some other factor associated with such a custom. For example, in this paper it is not plausible to assume that exclusive mother-infant sleeping arrangements cause a warm winter, or that a long post-partum sex taboo caused a rainy tropical climate. Thus, it is the assumption of this paper that ecological variables determine the customs associated with them' (Whiting 1964:524).

The flow of causal arrows in this model is essentially from left to right. It will be obvious to the reader that if everything is working properly at any given point, there is feedback and support of what has gone before. That is, in the initiation rites' literature, the symbols used in the ceremony are a cultural product; yet they are part of the child training initiation rites and their symbolic treatment of male and female reinforces the social structure based upon sex differences, etc. Recent work has focused upon various kinds of feedback. An example of feedback was encountered by Roberts and Sutton-Smith in their work with games. Following the model, in their 1966 article on games of chance, they suggest that such games may be played in societies

whose situations are not easily controlled by skill or strategy, where uncertainty exists, "particularly in the areas of environmental setting, food production, social and political interaction, marriage, war and religion." These uncertain conditions lead such societies to emphasize responsibility in child training and generate conflict in the area of sex, aggression, and achievement, since the life situation is one where "favorable and unfavorable outcomes may occur in an uncertain way" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1966:143). Games of chance can be viewed as a cultural product, an expression of responses to the passivity of the player's normal life role incompatible with the role of diligent provider. Differential incidence of gambling in our own society emphasizes this point. Thus "antecedent conflicts produced by socialization...lead to involvement in models of all sorts, including games. These models represent activities in behavior spheres relevant to the antecedent conflicts" (Roberts, Hoffman, and Sutton-Smith 1965:17). Children learn through folklore and games what the culture requires them to know, but will not teach them directly. Referring to what they describe as a conflict-enculturation interpretation, Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) argue that

- (1) there is an overall process of cultural patterning whereby society induces conflict in children through its child raising processes;
- (2) that society seeks through appropriate arrays and varieties of ludic models to provide an assuagement of these conflicts by an adequate representation of their emotional and cognitive polarities in ludic structure; and
- (3) that through these models society tries to provide a form of buffered learning through which the child can make enculturative step-by-step progress toward adult behavior" (Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962:183-4).

Each type of game provides information to the child about chance, skill, and/or strategy in assuaging conflict and in learning to handle social life. As Roberts and Sutton-Smith say "between the ages of seven and twelve the child learns, in simple direct form, how to take a chance, how to show a skill, and how to deceive" (1962:183). In complex games he learns to combine these skills in circumstances more nearly approaching the conditions of real life. In subsequent studies these authors have demonstrated, for example, that skilled strategy players are more "strategic" in other areas of life (Sutton-Smith & Roberts 1967). Thus games can be viewed, not only as a projective technique or a cultural product, but also as a child training device. Hence a feedback arrow must be shown in the model, from the products of adults and children to child training.

In addition, Whiting et al. (1966b) have argued that in a society which undergoes a change in maintenance systems [due to extrasystemic pressure (see above)] like household structure, child training systems may overreact to the change. This might create cultural products of exaggerated values to bolster the new order (feedback of cultural product on maintenance system). Values like harmony, achievement, and virtue, however, can be so overdrawn and idealized that living up to them is difficult. Thus, Whiting postulates a cultural defense mechanism to deal with failure to live up to the ideal. Projection of hostile feelings and bad thoughts onto witches or outside the group, and bragging about success even if none exists, are seen as culturally provided defense mechanisms against failure to meet the dominant values. this would be an example of feedback of cultural product upon personality systems. An interesting avenue of study is what happens in social change

situations to these various parts when there is less than perfect fit. What if child training practices seek to inculcate behaviors appropriate to maintenance systems which no longer exist, thereby producing personality types which cannot function successfully within the new order? What if cultural products like values, religion, etc., do not reinforce these new behaviors? These and other questions await answers. Other extrasystemic factors recently investigated directly related to behavior described here include diet (Bolton 1973, Bolton and Vadheim 1973, Rohner 1970) and climate (Robbins, Dewalt and Peltó 1972).

Sex Role and Initiation

The intersection of two characteristics makes the cross-cultural study of sex role socialization and initiation rites a natural and basic part of any psychological anthropology of education. In the first instance, biological gender is something that varies in a constant way in all human societies, and societies are free to attend to the difference in allocating role responsibilities and constructing divisions of labor. Most attend to the difference (see Linton 1936:116), but the degree to which it matters varies a great deal (see D'Andrade 1966, Barry, Bacon and Child 1957). Secondly, in effecting the transition from child (infant) to adult (in some societies more importantly male adult or female adult), societies often make use of ritualized initiation processes to mark the transition these often include relatively formal instruction for the initiates as to their new obligations. This instruction, sometimes including "bush schools," is for many societies the only "formal"

education setting that children will experience. Therefore much interest has been shown as to what these rites are about and how they accomplish what they set out to do. Some initiation rites seem concerned with making adults out of children (e.g., many North American Indian rites); others, in societies in which sex differences are important, are concerned with not just making adults, but particularly male as opposed to female (or vice versa) adults. The relationship of male initiation rites to the socialization of proper sex role behavior has been extensively studied.

In their interpretation of male initiation rites, Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony (1958) used the psychological concept of sex identity. Their cross-cultural study established the following:

1. A close relationship between mother and son during infancy as a consequence of either (a) their sleeping together for at least a year to the exclusion of the father, or (b) the mother being prohibited from sexual intercourse for at least a year after the birth of her child, or (c) both of these together, has measurable consequences which are manifested in cultural adjustments at adolescence.
2. These adjustments are either (a) a ceremony of initiation into manhood involving at least one and generally several of the following factors: painful hazing by the males of the society, tests of endurance and manliness, seclusion from women, and genital operations, or (b) a change of residence which involves separation of the boy from his mother and sisters and may also include some formal means for establishing male authority such as receiving instructions from and being required to be respectful to the mother's brother or the members of the men's house.

3. If both the factors specified in (1) are present, the consequences at adolescence tend to be more elaborate and severe than if only one is present (1958:368-369).

The authors offered an interpretation of their findings based upon the personality variable of sex identity. This interpretation was further refined and more completely stated by Burton and Whiting (1961), who viewed the absence of the father as leading to primary cross-sex (feminine) identity in boys. Initiation rites are designed to overcome primary cross-sex identity and substitute male identity and behavior. If the identity conflict were not resolved, boys would retain behaviors inappropriate to the society's adult male role.

Burton and Whiting (1961) distinguish three kinds of identity: "attributed" (statuses assigned ego by others in his society), "subjective" (statuses ego thinks he fills), and "optative" (statuses which ego wishes to occupy). The aim of socialization is to produce adults whose three identities are congruent. Optative identity is not always a conscious wish, and in fact can be assumed to be either an unconscious wish or a cognitive style; subjective identity, on the other hand, is conscious.

Cross-sex identity, used in reference to males, means that they identify with women, usually the mother. According to Burton and Whiting, the individual forms "primary" or "optative sex identity" in infancy and "secondary" or "subjective sex identity" in childhood, corresponding to the status arrangements encountered by him in those respective periods. Primary cross-sex identity is linked to absence of the father as measured by exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements and long post partum sex taboos. Secondary male identity, in

contrast, is linked to male influence as measured by patrilocality. The definition of father absence for primary cross-sex identity is different from that for secondary because the domain of the child changes. When the child is an infant, his domain is limited largely to where he sleeps; hence, the importance shifts from sleeping arrangements to whether the father is present in the household at all to the status males possess (for example, in a patrilocal or a matrilocal household).

The relationship of cross-sex identity to behavior depends upon the combination of primary and secondary identities. Primary cross-sex identity may be either reacted against or expressed, depending upon the secondary sex identity. Some societies institutionalize a means for resolving an underlying conflict in sex identities (primary, female; secondary, male) in favor of the secondary sex identity. Circumcision-type initiation rites are an example of this. The ceremonies occur in societies which differentiate boys from girls (Harrington, 1968) and presumably teach boys the appropriate male role. Thus they attempt to insure proper masculine role behavior by making it clear that the boys are now men and are different from the women who have raised them.

If there is a conflict between primary and secondary sex identities without a mechanism to resolve it, the individual reaction to primary feminine identity may be an exaggerated masculinity, through which the boy tries to resolve the conflict (see Munroe, Munroe, and Whiting 1965). Such hypermasculine traits have been linked to feminine identity by several researchers. B. Whiting (1965), for example, has explained aggression as "protest masculinity," and found it more often in those societies where the father has low salience in infancy but high status later in life. (See her article, 1965, for a summary of the literature on protest masculinity.) If glory in war is taken to be a reasonable

index of hypermasculinity or the exaggerated need for men to defend themselves against femininity then it should be found more commonly in societies with an exclusive relationship between a boy and his mother during his infancy combined with a low salience of the father during this period. Such turns out to be true. Polygynous societies in which each child has a mother but at most half a father who often sleeps and eats elsewhere are more likely to value glory in war than do monogamous societies. Exclusive mother-son sleeping arrangements--a more explicit measure of a condition likely to produce cross sex identity is also significantly associated with the glory in warfare score. Whiting, Kluckhohn, and Anthony consider juvenile delinquency in the United States to be another form of exaggerated masculinity:

It has long been known that there is an association between certain types of juvenile delinquency and broken homes. We would predict that the probability of a boy becoming delinquent in such instances would be highest where the separation of the mother and father occurred during the early infancy of the boy and where she (later)...remarried (1958:370).

The macho complex among Mexican males would be another instance (Lewis 1951). A further case may be that described for Cayman (Howe 1966). Such reactions of exaggerated masculinity typically come about where there is an overlaying of male influence upon a child with primary cross-sex identity. Cultural mechanisms to resolve the conflict, such as circumcision-type initiation rites, are said to make such individual protests superfluous.

Cross-sex identity may be openly expressed if the primary and secondary identifications are both feminine. One institutionalized expression is couvade, a set of practices in which the man shares symptoms of pregnancy and childbirth with his wife (see Munroe, Munroe and Whiting 1965). Burton and Whiting said

couvade should be a good index of the wish "to act out the feminine role and thus symbolically to be in part a woman" (1961:91). Munroe, Munroe and Carson (1973) support this. Individual expressions of femininity are also possible. D'Andrade (1962) found that in the United States high feminine identification scores on the Franck Drawing Completion Test was strongly related to father absence during the first two years of life. Carlsmith (1963, 1973) as well as Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1968) found that father-absent male students had some feminine patterns on scholastic aptitude tests, or other expressions of cognitive cross-sex identity.

D'Andrade (1973) reports similar results with the Franck test as a measure of cognitive cross-sex identity for boys for a neighborhood composed of American blacks and third generation Barbadians outside Boston for father absence in the first three years of life. Harrington (1970) was unable to produce such findings for a population of abnormally behaving adolescent boys, and argued, following recent findings in psychology, that father absence was too crude an approximation of a variable that had to describe the relationship of the father to the child: father salience. In addition, he argued that the role of the mother had to be taken into account, and following Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1970) we might also argue the importance of the sibship. Longabaugh (1973) explicitly investigates the effects of mother behavior on the effect of father absence. Although not dealing over a long period of time with the salience of the mother to the child, he investigates shorter term effects and based upon brief observation argues that mother behavior toward the son is a variable moderating the relationship between father absence and femininity of the son's semantic style.

Munroe and Munroe (1973) investigate the individual expressions of femininity to be found if initiation rites predicted by the theory outlines are not performed. They compare four East African societies in which interviews were conducted with adult males during the wife's pregnancy. They report that men in a rites-absent society (Nilotic) report significantly more symptoms themselves during their wife's pregnancy than males in the societies in which initiation rites are present, offering evidence of the efficacy of such rites in effecting cognitive changes in sex identity.

The connection between subjective cross-sex identity and overt behavior was specifically tested by Harrington (1970), who studied a group of hospitalized boys in the United States who had shown errors in sex role learning. Harrington found support for Whiting's explanation of male initiation rites in terms of primary and secondary sex identity. Boys with exaggeratedly masculine behavior more often had primary feminine identity and secondary masculine identity, as measured by personality tests, than boys who did not show errors in sex role learning. Boys whose behavior showed errors in the other extreme (behavior inappropriate to the male role) had both primary and secondary feminine identity. Thus the association of measures of primary and secondary sex role identity with the socialization of male role behaviors has been fairly well documented both cross culturally and by within-culture replications.

Circumcision-type initiation rites are said to be necessary to overcome primary cross-sex identity and inculcate properly male identity and behavior. Recent work in symbolic anthropology, particularly in the work of Turner (1969) and the studies in Mayer (1971) suggest that by a careful analysis of what

goes on within these rituals we may learn more about the dynamic by which they operate. What is particularly needed is a knowledge of what if anything these rituals actually accomplish in terms of socialization. John Herzog (1973) attempts to assess the effects of initiation rites. He administered questionnaires to groups of boys, one initiated in 1969, one postponing initiation till 1970, one till later. Each group was interviewed one month before the 1969 initiation and four to five months after by initiated males from the same community. The findings do not document an immediate impact of initiation itself; perhaps because of the short time duration between the pre- and post-stages (see Harrington 1968 for an argument which would require effects to be measured over a longer period of time), and perhaps because of the interviewing having been done by initiated youths which might have tended to homogenize responses around a cultural norm. However, even in these circumstances, Herzog was able to show that a combination of initiation plus secondary education does have a recognizable impact on boys' self concepts. A recent study of Granzberg's (1973) begins to answer this question, not for circumcision-type initiation rites but for rites like those of the Hopi, that emphasize the distinction between the child and adult roles (but see also Schlegel 1973).

Most of the cross-cultural studies of sex role learning reviewed here have been limited to males reflecting a bias to the literature that may be accounted for to some extent by the fact that most of the authors are male. Judith Brown (1963) has redressed this imbalance in part with a fine study of female initiation rites. She draws three major conclusions. First, female initiation rites occur most often in societies where the girl, as an adult, will not have to leave her parents' domestic unit; second those

initiation rites that subject the initiated girl to extreme pain are found in societies in which infant and childhood sex identity are in conflict; this establishes a relation between painful female initiation rites and male genital mutilation rites. Third, female rites are found in those societies in which women are important in subsistence activities, thereby (according to Brown) giving her recognition for her contribution to the existence of the society. While much remains to be done on sex role learning by women, the work of Brown and Barry, Bacon and Child offers some useful beginnings.

Suicide is a trait which shows sex-linked findings. Threatening suicide is more often used by women than it is by men (see Ferberow and Schneidman 1961) and more by boys with feminine rather than masculine identity (Harrington 1970). Cross-cultural studies of suicide have produced some findings which have relevance to students of education. Krauss offers data that frequency of suicide is linked to societal complexity, with low complexity societies having low suicide rates, medium complexity societies having high rates, with highly complex societies divided between low and high rates. Insofar as formal education is linked to societal complexity, there is a possibility of a direct, though possibly curvilinear, relationship between education and suicide. In addition, the cross-cultural evidence emphasizes the effectiveness of societies in binding members into patterned social relations (Krauss 1970); strong family ties and social structure (Gobar 1970), is preventive of suicide (but not necessarily threats of suicide, see Kreitman, Smith and Tan 1970). As Hipler (1969) emphasizes, these represent interrelationships of child-rearing variables, social structure, and cultural values; a set of problems of direct relevance to educators.

Recent research has also been conducted on sex-linked task assignments, sex preference and role performance. Ember (1973) hypothesized that boys observed to perform a great deal of "feminine" work (by Luo culture definitions) would tend to exhibit more "feminine" social behavior than other boys (measured on basis of egotistic behavior, altruistic and prosocial behavior scales). A comparison of social behavior scores of boys doing little feminine work, boys doing a great deal of feminine work and girls, showed that boys who did a great deal of feminine work were intermediate in their social behavior between other boys and girls. Further analysis revealed that different types of work, all of which were considered feminine, were differently related to social behavior than other boys, but boys who did a great deal more feminine work outside the home were not more feminine than other boys. Perhaps this feminine task performance in the home implies task overlap with the mother and an identification component. Harrington (1970) shows that task overlap in the home with the mother, as opposed to the father, for boys is a useful predictor of cross-sex behavior. These findings emphasize the interplay of various socializing agents which needs to be considered by researchers in education.

METHOD

I would like to make a few observations about methodology before leaving the topic of socialization. Over the past twenty years there have been increasing numbers of studies purporting to be about "socialization." Nearly all of these studies have contained deficiencies traceable, at least in part, to the existence of disciplinary boundaries. While many disciplines share

a theoretical interest in socialization phenomena, their methodologies do not correspondingly overlap. Indeed, one can read about "anthropological methods," "psychological methods," and "sociological methods." Since methodology must follow from theory, not vice-versa, this is a paradox. What is needed is research which will develop in useable form an integrated set of methodologies for the study of socialization. These methodologies are presently associated with a number of different disciplines, but primarily with the fields of anthropology, psychology, and sociology.

We need to bring the various methodologies into one integrated whole which can be easily used by all researchers in socialization. This is not to discourage interdisciplinary collaboration by researchers--quite the opposite would be my wish. However, reality dictates that opportunities for truly interdisciplinary research are often limited by discipline organized academic structures, by the low probability of finding someone from just the right discipline at just the right time who is himself interested in, available to, and capable of collaboration. My experiences in even the most fortuitous of circumstances make me certain that all those interested in the study of socialization cannot find suitable collaborators. Even for the few who can, the process of collaboration, especially in the early stages, is extremely time consuming, as each person explores--often for the first time--the other's academic world. While this is a fascinating process, assuming it goes well, it does effectively postpone the research for such a length of time that the nascent researcher, faced with a choice between a "quick" within disciplinary effort and the uncertainties of an interdisciplinary encounter, may too often choose the latter to the detriment of research.

We need to separate various research techniques from the disciplines to which tradition assigns them, while at the same time producing research into socialization which they would regard as legitimate. Such work will bring the strengths and fruits associated with interdisciplinary research without the actual necessity of members of a number of disciplines working together on the problem. The work must be as accessible to an anthropologist wanting to learn experimental procedures as it is to a psychologist wanting to learn participant observation techniques, and must be guided to some degree by the concept of "limits of naivete" proposed by the anthropologist Max Gluckman and economist Ely Devons. You do not need to become an anthropologist to do participant observation, but you do need to know enough that you do it in a way that will be acceptable by anthropologists. Similarly, you do not need to become a psychologist to do experimentation, but you need to know enough so that you do not produce research unacceptable to psychologists.

The study of socialization requires knowledge of what is to be learned as well as how it is to be learned. Accurate descriptions of the society, the culture, variations and cycles within groups, and the choices available to actors at various social positions and educational settings must be our first step. This is as true in dealing with our own society and its sub-cultures as it is when working cross-culturally. Only then can we investigate how appropriate behaviors are learned, using concepts of personality and theories of learning to show how the knowledge is acquired.

The delineation of what is to be learned and the investigation of how that learning occurs (in part by showing that it does) require in most cases different batteries of research techniques. But, the overall study requires

a deliberate interweaving of the various research tools to provide a more complete and efficient investigation than would be possible with the techniques used in isolation. Each of the research techniques used is, I argue, best suited to particular information production purposes, and is relatively inefficient for others. But, a discipline's habits may force an experimental methodology for a research problem for which informant interviewing would be far more suited. Secondly, a combination of research techniques allows the use of some in settings in which they would otherwise be suspect. For example, ethnographic data allow the consideration of cultural and sub-cultural differences in designing and conducting research on general psychological processes using experimental designs. Experimental design in isolation requires the experimenter to base many of his research decisions on his often implicit knowledge of the culture of the participants in his research. People really do not know about how their own cultures operate as well as they think they do, and know even less about how other (sub-) cultures operate. Such knowledge is prerequisite to experimental design. Working the other way for a moment, anthropologists are sometimes glib about how learning occurs. For example, Jules Henry as participant observer in a school classroom may tell us that "kids learn to be docile there" but such a conclusion (hypothesis) is based upon his intuition about how learning occurs, based upon his own feelings. What do the teenagers demonstrably learn in such a setting? Where is a test of the existence of the intuited outcome?

In the first instance use will be made of various informally cross checking methodologies subsumed under the rubric "participant observation"

including informant interviewing, observation, recording of data, census taking, etc. In the assessment of learning outcomes systematic observation, experimental (both field and laboratory) techniques, and various cognitive and perception eliciting procedures are used. Other techniques could be used in either instance and include multidimensional scaling, survey techniques, various sociometric procedures, and networks analysis. The proposed methodology should be useful for many particular foci of socialization, political socialization, ethnic socialization, or any other.

There have been published recently reports about two studies into socialization which are by these definitions complete: the "six cultures project" and research in Liberia by Cole and his associates. The six cultures project began twenty years ago and the final report on the systematic observation of children is not yet published, although the ethnographies were published in Whiting (1963) and a factor analysis of mother interviews in Minturn and Lambert (1964). The study included six fieldteams and scores of collaborators and assistants. Cole (et al., 1971) and his associates combined, albeit belatedly, ethnographic and experimental procedures in researching the Kpelle of Liberia over a period of several years. Both the studies then were large scale team efforts, and took many years to complete. No one researcher can ever hope to do as much. However, both were exploratory efforts which charted new methodological and theoretical territory; both were wide ranging in behaviors under study. These are significant differences.

We need to make accessible to scholars with smaller scale problems a set of techniques which will enable him (her) to successfully research them.

These socialization studies are essential to an understanding of educative processes in our own as well as other societies. The need for them is so pressing and the quality of truncated researchers into socialization can be so low, that a way more productive of results in a shorter time must be found and made generally available.

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III. Social Change

In our discussion above of perception and cognition, indirect mention was made of processes of acculturation when findings were reported that showed effects on cognition of western experiences, western schooling, etc. In the following section we focus explicitly on problems of social change and acculturation broader than simply examining consequences of contact and western culture on cognitive functioning. In doing so, we have chosen to separate our discussion into two kinds of acculturation settings which seem of particular importance to educators: acculturation among various ethnic groups within the (particularly urban) United States, and culture contact situations of native cultures outside the United States. The division is to a certain degree arbitrary in terms of the acculturation phenomena, but facilitates discussion of the relevance of the findings of psychological anthropology to education.

CHANGE ASSOCIATED WITH MIGRATION AND ACCULTURATION OF U. S. ETHNIC GROUPS

In examining acculturation among ethnic groups within the United States we focus first on problems posed for education by recently migrated groups, then focus on problems of ethnicity as they influence these groups and the populations they join in their new settings.

a. Migration

There is an extensive and rich literature on migration, per se, and various migrant groups, but this literature does not examine schooling or the consequences for education of migration, or of education for migration. Barnes' (1969) article stresses that the critical point for investigation of migrants is the ethnic boundary that defines the group and how boundaries are defined in different situations. Since to a large extent ethnic boundaries channel social life, the process by which boundaries are maintained or deemphasized becomes the crucial factor for analysis and these conceptualizations lead directly to important future research. As psychological anthropologists, we must inquire into the question of socialization ignored by the "post structuralists" as Van Velsen (1967) describes them. For each migrant groups examined we need to examine how children learn about networks and the ethnic boundaries that define them in the adult population.

While there is a large literature in social anthropology on education, it has not highlighted problems of migrants and ethnicity, although examining related variables, especially social class (and in psychology social class and race). Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1969) show that the labeling of

children and assignment of children to classes greatly affect what children learn in school. The content of curriculum and the presentation of material is also influenced by the ways in which children are placed and the corresponding stereotyping of children (Keddie 1971). Watson (1970) shows the interaction of skin color, legal definition of ethnicity, and school policy in South Africa. Hasley, Floud and Anderson (1961) point out that there is correlation between social class and academic achievement in school. It is necessary to examine these variables in the context of their relationship between migrant networks, ethnic boundaries, corresponding socialization processes, and the relationship of these factors to school interaction, academic placement and school achievement. The American literature in anthropology and schooling (Wax 1963, 1973, Chance 1973, Wolcott 1969, Lesser 1961, for example) has rarely examined the ethnic questions of urban migrant groups (but see Ogbu 1974). The recent American Ethnological Society—Council on Anthropology and Education symposium on learning and culture (Kimball and Burnett 1973) contains only one article based upon field work with urban migrants in examining education (Harrington 1973). The Anthropology and Education collections by Gearing, Wax and Diamond (1971) and Ianni and Storey (1972) show similar gaps. There is, of course, anthropological research in urban schools reviewed by other National Academy of Education committee reports, but there is little research which would bring psychological anthropological theory and methodology to bear on the problem of the education of these migrant groups in the bilingual, multi-cultural settings of urban USA.

This is alarming since in recent years the education of the children of newly arrived migrants has been one of the great failures of the American school. This state of affairs is perhaps most acute in cities. For example, in New York city since the end of World War II some millions of new residents have come from the islands and territories of the Caribbean basin, as well as from the rural areas of the United States. These migrants, many with little or no knowledge of English and nearly all carriers of a culture distinctively different from that found in urban America, have clearly strained existing educative resources and have helped compound the already present problems of education in a changing industrial society. As the migrant population is comprised of adults of child-bearing years, with school age children, it is within the public school and initially within the public elementary school, that the effects of the migrations become apparent. Meeting the needs of the rapidly changing constituency while at the same time maintaining a viable educational system is a central problem to those involved in urban American schools. We see three facets to the problem: curriculum development, placement of migrant children, and stereotyping of incoming groups leading to self-fulfilling prophecy effects.

Curriculum development. The school faces the task of constructing a curriculum relevant to its rapidly changing constituency. Traditionally the curriculum has been designed to meet the needs of students of the American "mainstream" culture, and educators have assumed that children who were not "mainstream" would become so. The validity and utility of

the assumptions of homogenization of common schooling are thrown into doubt by the tremendous strains engendered by this newest wave of socio-cultural diversity. The question goes beyond what schools should do about the content of the curriculum. There is also a question about the goal of the curriculum—should the school teach mainstream skills, or foster cultural diversity? The irony is that much of the debate is waged with no knowledge of the cultures themselves. Further, the debate parallels one in anthropology itself (see the discussion of Hannerz below). While these new groups of arrivals share certain similarities, evidence also dramatically indicates that fundamental differences exist among them, and many have consequences for education. Research that we have already conducted in New York city schools reveals that systematic differences between migrant groups have had, and continue to have, significant consequences for the child's performance. In addition, they affect the way in which schools choose to respond or avoid responding to the populations they serve (Schwartz n.d., Lopate n.d., Harrington 1973, Dalton, Foxworthy and Schwartz n.d.). Curriculum problems encountered by migrant groups run the gamut of degrees of severity; from the unavailability of any material in the child's language--and/or the unavailability of staff who speak a language he can understand--to more subtle distinctions of what is appropriate behavior "here" with its implications that other behavior is bad and unreasonable.

Academic placement is another facet of the problem presented by migrants that schools must solve. Many children are coming to the city after their school careers have already begun. Schools must try to

develop programs that will capitalize on their previous educational experiences as well as having programs that will integrate these newcomers as smoothly as possible into the ongoing school structures. Previous access to educational facilities has often been limited. Economic pressures on families complicate school attendance further by requiring children to help work for the support of the family. Consequently, many children coming from the Caribbean basin, and some from the rural South, who enter the school system have a chronological age without its usual "educational achievement." Occasionally children of thirteen and fourteen come to the public school with no previous school experience, unable to read or write in their own language and with no knowledge of English. The introduction of migrant population children to the schools is a matter of grave concern to the educators involved. Yet the knowledge base upon which to make decisions is very weak.

Stereotyping. Teachers over the years in the public school develop sets of expectations about the proper role of children and parents vis-à-vis the school. In addition, stereotypes develop about the various migrant groups. Behavior which is often the result of the situational adjustments that are being made by migrant groups is sometimes interpreted by teachers as pathological faults of individual students and used to reinforce negative stereotypes about the group from which the student comes. Attitudes toward race, and other ethnic variables can similarly carry expectations with them. Value judgments—"His family are just farmers," "They are very dirty people."—are frequently heard in our own

fieldwork. Various negative impressions held about migrant children are reinforced by the reality that they often do require more time, and because of geographic mobility, can frustrate teacher initiatives.

When the population served by the school is culturally heterogeneous while the school staff is much less so, the alienation of the school and its staff from students and their families becomes acute. One solution is to hire school staff so as to increase their cultural diversity. However, this is only a partial solution since each teacher has in class students of many cultural backgrounds. Further, while a particular teacher may be of Dominican background, he has a very different (urban) way of life from the recently arrived Dominican rural child in the neighborhood served by the school. Even if they share origins, there may be as much "cultural" difference between them as between a white middle class teacher and a rural black child. Halsey, Floud and Anderson (1961), for example, have pointed out the tenacity with which newly middle class teachers espouse traditionally middle class values. In a sense, the teachers are trying to put some distance between themselves and their origins by separating themselves culturally from children of similar backgrounds. In one asserts that schools should be staffed by teachers from the groups the school serves (and assumes that such staffing would be effective), one encounters a crippling practical problem: Migration of professionals does not always precede or accompany the migrations we have described, and tenure and union regulations prevent total responsiveness to shifting trends. Clearly other solutions are necessary.

One solution is to provide teachers of a school more information about students and their backgrounds, as well as concepts and ideas based on this information which would lead to constructive action and change. This, we would argue, would be in the best tradition of applied anthropology. In regard to curriculum, how can curriculum be planned for children unless we know its relevance for and place in their lives? Must we not know how the structures and curriculum of the school compare with the structures and dynamics of the students' lives outside of school. In other words, taking education to stand for a process broader than just what happens to a child in school, must we not know something of his education in order to plan for his schooling? Might not children be more successful in school if school structures more nearly reflected those educational settings found in their own culture? In addition, previous research has shown that information about how children behave outside of school is important, indeed vital, to understanding how a child behaves in school (Schwartz n.d. and Harrington 1973). Curriculum development and reform built upon a solid knowledge of the content of the cultures served and the educational aspirations of the people served hold much greater promise for success than curriculum decisions made without such knowledge.

Providing data on differential patterns of socialization and acculturation among ethnic groups will also aid in the problem of pupil placement. Detailed knowledge of the educational experience a child is likely to have had when he comes to the school greatly facilitates

decisions about placing him in the various settings available in school.

This point links the problem of placement with curriculum reform: knowledge of the educational experiences the child has had and is having outside of school can show a need for increasing the number of curriculum options within school, thereby providing alternatives closer to those in which the child is already functioning. Suppose research shows that children of a certain group learn well in peer-peer settings and that curriculum reform has brought peer-peer learning opportunities into the school. Members of this group can then be placed into the kind of educational setting in which they have shown competence.

As to the problems of stereotyping, our approach seeks to maximize and analyze the differences between the study populations and to work out the implications of these differences for schooling. This approach is quite different from that taken by those who assert that while migrant groups are different from the "mainstream average," they will eventually become socially and culturally assimilated so that their present differences can be ignored. The increasing emergence of cultural pride, and the revitalization movements (Wallace 1961) based thereon make such assumptions appear naive. Information about the cultural diversity of the populations served by the school should, through feedback to school personnel, counter commonly accepted orientations toward or stereotypes about these groups and others like them. However, this approach is not without certain risks.

Ethnicity:

Ethnicity is here viewed as a complex interaction of a variety of factors each of which may create important differences in the behaviors we seek to study. In order for a concept of ethnicity to be applicable it must contain the factor of nationality, and we shall take up this factor first. Extensive studies have been done by applied anthropologists from Columbia University in the past ten years of the various nationality groups found in New York City. This work has heavily utilized the concepts of social field and networks and has attempted to study these populations not only in New York City but also in their countries of origin before and during the process of migration. From this and other research we have been able to identify critical sociological dimensions that affect the move to the United States, such as the demographic composition of the migrant group and the types of migration which occur (particularly the circulatory migration practiced by Dominicans and increasingly by Puerto Ricans).

It is clear that there are differences among these nationality groups and that these differences are not clearly understood by the staffs of many schools. Language is one variable that distinguishes among the nationalities. While there are more refined differences, Spanish speaking groups are often lumped together; many teachers--indeed many New Yorkers--assuming that Spanish speaking students are all Puerto Rican. Such assumptions of nationality from language are not welcomed by, for example, Dominicans to whom it is applied: there are often strong antagonism between the Dominican and Puerto Rican groups. In addition to language

differences, nationalities differ in the legal definition of their stay in the United States. Puerto Ricans are legally citizens and legally residents in the United States. Dominicans are simply denizens. Those who are in the country legally are still waiting for their eligibility requirements to be met for citizenship. Even more confounding is the fact that many of the Dominicans are in this country illegally e.g., they may have overstayed a visitor's visa (Hendricks 1971) and these must actively seek to hide their status from authorities. These Dominican parents are much less able to participate in school politics or to provide the school with accurate data about family size, birth place, etc.

In addition to the differences among nationalities by language and legal status, there are also nationality differences on an additional set of factors which contribute to a meaningful definition of ethnicity. Differences along these variables can be found to some degree within all the nationality groups. These factors are important in influencing relationships among adults, among children, and between the groups and school personnel. These factors include skin color; educational background and attainment of parents; whether the migrants come from urban or rural backgrounds; their occupation and income; religion, and the dialect differences that are found within language groups.

Research I carried out at Teachers College's Center for Urban Studies and Programs in the early 1970's has strongly suggested that each of these variables can influence how a teacher responds to a child in class. Skin color is sometimes used by teachers as the sole criterion for judging

ethnicity and through ethnicity his ability; children of lighter skin receive more positive attention (see also Rabovits and Maehr, 1973). Highly educated parents have been observed entreating and receiving special favors and treatment for their children. Children from rural areas face adjustment problems in New York City to a greater degree than urban children, perhaps in part because such a background is often interpreted by teachers as a criterion worthy of their concern (His parents are just peasant farmers, you know; he has a long way to go"). Since teachers bear many norms of American culture as well as norms of the city culture, they also respond to occupation and money cues of parents. Dialect differences between spoken languages of the nationality groups are used as cues to infer inferiority, also. Black English is "wrong"; Puerto Rican Spanish "does not sound good," etc. Observers have also described non-verbal communications habits being used as criteria for evaluation. For example, children attending a Spanish dominant school's Spanish Heritage Day assembly were upbraided (by a U. S. born, middle class black school administrator) for shouting approval and clapping and haughtily told that "'here' we express approval only with our hands, not our mouths."

We perceive ethnicity to be a combination of the variables outlined above. While this number of variables produces a very large number of combinations and hence an enormous potential number of ethnic categories, the actual diversity is not so great. For example, there are very few urban Dominican immigrants; none have citizenship; and most are lower class campesinos.

It is enough of an anthropological commonplace that cultural values affect performance evaluations and perceptions of competence to assume that such factors will be at work. It is too much of a commonplace, however, to assume that we know specifically what the relationships are without testing them. This means first identifying the values which are held by the various ethnic groups which could affect their performance evaluations and perceptions of competence in school settings, and second, demonstrating that these values in fact are reflected in such evaluations and perceptions within adults and children.

Probably the best known account of how cultural values different from those of the school have affected performance evaluation, success, failure and perceptions of competence is work done among the Navajo and the schools which are run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (see, e.g., Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1946). The Navajo value a democratic harmony. To be different from a norm is to be deviant and by definition to fail on this important standard. Teachers, however, judge achievement purely in terms of success on school tasks, and distribute rewards differentially on that basis. A student who achieved an "A" on a test in which "C" was the norm was praised in front of the class as an example to be emulated. The "successful child," however, was filled with embarrassment and shame at being so exposed as different from his peers. He could be expected to take care not to "fail" in this way again.

The entire thrust of the anthropological literature has been to demonstrate that different cultures allocate values differently and that these values have consequences for behavior. This literature has gone

well beyond simplistic assertions that culture A is different from culture B, since anthropologists have been able to account for values through the effects on child raising of family, political, and economic organizations (see socialization above). Value systems, then, are deeply embedded within a cultural matrix and more difficult to change in an acculturation situation than learning about content or belief systems (see Whiting and Whiting 1961). Therefore the way a particular culture's values lead it to evaluate tasks expected of its children in schools may lead to serious and pervasive conflict when schools are run by and attentive to the values of a different culture.

Judgments of success or excellence by school personnel may also be at variance with judgments produced by a particular ethnic group. Indeed, what the school defines as a failure may not be so perceived by a particular group being served; and what a particular group defines as a success may seem inappropriate behavior to the school. Examples of each abound. A school is setting up a bilingual education program in response to an obvious perceived need because it has many Spanish speaking students. However, U. S. born Blacks object to the diversion of funds from their children, and a group of "middle class" Puerto Rican parents object to their children being taught to read in Spanish because this will prevent them from getting "white" (English speaking) jobs (see Sanday 1973 for a useful distinction between cultural and structural pluralism). Conversely, other Spanish parents are actively concerned with maintaining their own ethnic identities with their linguistic heritage and want their children to read and write adequately in Spanish. More traditional schools than the one just cited have no bilingual program (even schools with 60% Spanish

speaking children lack them and have less than 1% of the staff who can even speak Spanish). These schools only value learning to read and write in English, and judgments of competence are often made by such schools solely on this criterion. In such a setting a student, no matter how competently he can read or write in Spanish, is evaluated solely by his scores on an English reading test!

These anecdotes emphasize the contradictions that can exist between school goals and the goals of the ethnic groups which make up the school population. These contradictions have consequences for students. While the findings from psychology are generally consistent with the statement that competence on a particular task is rewarding, the anthropological literature would suggest that competence in a task valued by one's culture is more rewarding than competence at a task not valued by one's culture; and that failure at a task valued by one's culture is more costly than failure at a task not valued by one's own group.

a. Dominicans in New York

Results from three major sources (Hendricks 1973, Walker 1973 and Foxworthy 1972) argue that Dominicans parents tend to view education as learning how to read and write. Tasks undertaken in school other than these are said to "not belong in school." There is some evidence to suggest that Dominican children, at least when they first enter school, share their parents' views. The purpose of school as Dominican parents perceive it for their children is to get enough English to get a good job. Education is said to be seen by Dominican parents as a validation

of the change of status brought about by their social mobility from the life of the campesino in the rural Dominican Republic to urban New York. While the prime reasons for migration are said to be economic, an educated child is evidence that the migration has been successful, for if the child had to work to contribute to the support of his family he could not be educated.

Dominican parents expect the teachers of their children to be authoritarian and to maintain strict and effective discipline. Teachers who define their role in a more informal way (e.g., an open classroom) are often interpreted by Dominicans as weak and incompetent. Further, if a child acts out, Dominican parents expect the teacher to handle whatever happens. A teacher who calls a parent to ask for a conference about or to report a misbehaving child is regarded as weak and unable to handle discipline. The attitude toward education is also reflected in the attitudes toward teachers. Teachers who strictly attend to teaching the child mathematics and how to read are valued; teachers who emphasize other topics or how children feel are thought to be worthless. Care should be exercised in applying these descriptions of Dominicans in New York to other settings. In addition, Hendricks' (1973) was a study of a largely stable "middle-class" group, which may differ in important respects from more recently arrived Dominicans.

b. Dominicans and their New York Neighbors

We suspect from our own preliminary work that Puerto Rican and Black ethnic groups are both split into what for convenience we shall label "middle class and lower class" groups. The middle class seem,

like the Dominicans, to favor reading and more formal aspects of education as ways in which their children can become middle class. The lower class description refers to the more politically oriented sections (black power, Young Lords, etc.), who value verbal and social skills, and denigrate school tasks as middle class "white" skills improperly imposed on a different culture, and who appear to rely on political maneuvering to gain resources. Cuban and Dominican groups do not seem to be so split, and seem rather consistently to share the position outlined first above. What is interesting about this is that these two groups are the disenfranchised ones, whilst the blacks and Puerto Ricans are citizens and potentially politically potent. One might argue that the only way for Dominicans and Cubans to make it is to become mainstream, while the more politically secure groups can support a cultural pluralism in which subculture and allocation of resources have become separated. The situation is further compounded by the fact that we must consider not only the ethnicity of the child's family background but also the ethnicity of the child's social milieu; that is, the composition of his class, his peer group, his teachers, and the placement of his ethnic group in various neighborhood-defined hierarchies.

As much as we know about these groups, further research is required which will (1) ascertain a) what kinds of instructional settings are normal for various populations outside of school and b) what is the success of the various instructional settings in achieving their own goals, whether these goals are self-expressed or implicit. Identification

of the impact of variables like socioeconomic status, language, cultural values, income, occupation, and religion therefore must be examined.

(2) analyze the kinds of rewards and sanctions used in those settings and the styles of instruction in each. Data must be collected on a sufficient number of categories of educational settings to allow descriptions of the types of settings important for each of the migrant groups and the characteristics of instruction in each setting type for each group.

(3) ascertain on the macro level the effect migration has on educational processes in whatever setting they occur. Where possible, data relevant to pre-migrational instructional patterns must be collected, allowing gross comparisons of a pre-post migrational kind.

(4) discover the implicit cultural values what are relevant to schooling, specifically examining what is perceived to be important to learn and what is not. Which of two variables--language or cultural values--is the most powerful at predicting school failure or success? This particular point is instructive as to why the anthropological type study proposed is necessary to achieve the objectives we have set. Knowing from school records which language is spoken in the home and the birth place of the parents, one could rather easily assess which variable was more potent--if nationality were synonymous with ethnicity and cultural values. But it is not. Only by a thorough knowledge of the family based upon ethnographic data, can one hope to get to truly cultural variables.

(5) begin to understand the processes whereby children learn about their own ethnicity and the ethnicity of others. The following observations from our New York City field notes illustrate the kind of phenomena we need to be able to understand better:

among sixth graders:

"A Cuban-Chinese boy is called 'Chino' by Dominican boys but not by Cuban boys." "Dominican boys never dance at class parties with U. S. born black girls, but dance with Dominican girls of the same skin color." "Friendship choices for girls tend to be across ethnic lines, while the choices of boys are almost always within ethnic lines."

for fourth grade:

"The teacher starts a discussion about Dominican Independence Day and the Dominican leader Duarte. A Dominican boy asks the teacher if she is from the Dominican Republic. When she says no, Puerto Rico, he gives her a thumbs down sign and tells her that's bad ... Santo Domingo is better." "There is a lot of talk between boys about whose hair is getting long enough to be an Afro, and whether Afros are good or bad. The children's discussions center on the trouble of combing it; however, while a similar discussion among adults, i.e., mothers, has racial considerations (i.e., look like an African) as the dominant feature" (Harrington 1974).

Processes of development of such images in children and their consequences are important areas of study which have significance far beyond the particular setting under study.

(6) shed light on the consequences of stereotyping in the process of the classroom. Rosenthal's (1971) study made an empirical argument that stereotypes, in their case of pupil's ability, could become self-fulfilling stereotypes. Gumpert and Gumpert, while acknowledging defects in the statistical analysis of the Rosenthal book, find evidence to substantiate this point. Our study offers an opportunity to study the effects of ethnic stereotypes on the process of learning in the classroom, and outside the classroom. As the examples above indicate, the teacher is a major figure in the formation of ethnic identity in the children. We understand very poorly how this occurs.

c. Mexican-Americans

Recent research has presented interesting findings on Mexican-Americans, and has investigated specifically some of the factors influencing school performance which we discussed above. Specifically, research by Schwartz (1971) emphasizes that ethnicity must be defined by variables in addition to simple nationality labels. Her study compared Mexican-American and Anglo secondary school age children. She found high expectations of school attendance for both groups. She found that there was a higher generalized faith in mankind and more optimistic orientation toward the future among Anglos than the Mexican-Americans. These variables were also related to achievement. More important, she showed that within the Mexican-American

group these values were not distributed evenly, and that Mexican-American pupils of higher socio-economic status are more similar to Anglos (Schwartz 1971).

Evans and Anderson (1973) while not examining variations within Mexican-Americans as did Schwartz, does find that stereotypes about this group held by educators and used to explain their relative failure are seriously in error. While the Mexican-American students did, more than Anglos, have lower self-concepts of ability, experienced less democratic parental independence training, had fatalistic present time orientations, had a high striving orientation, and lower educational aspirations, the Mexican-Americans were also found to come from homes where education was stressed, and parental encouragement was linked to values and experiences the authors link to the culture of poverty. Madsen and Kagan (1973) report a study of experimental situations in a small Mexican town and Anglos in Los Angeles. Mothers of both groups rewarded their children for success, but Mexican mothers more often gave rewards for failure than did Anglo mothers. Anglo mothers chose higher and more difficult achievement goals for their children. In another experiment Madsen finds that this training may have an effect, if the cross cultural evidence linking independence training to competition and "egoism" is correct. In a study of cooperative-competitive behavior in the same populations as the preceding study, he shows a higher level of cooperation among Mexican than among Anglo-American children, and increases in non-adaptive competition with age only for the Anglo group.

Other studies examining school achievement for Mexican-Americans show significant improvement in performance on performance and vocabulary measures for Mexican-American children in a planned bilingual early childhood program, compared with Mexican-Americans not directly involved, or those involved in traditional non-bilingual day care centers (Nedler and Sebera 1971). For older children Lugo (1971) explores the relationships between three degrees of bilingualism of Mexican-American pupils and various measures of school achievement. They found educators reported neutral attitudes toward bilingual education, and a general lack of knowledge concerning the Mexican-American. They conclude that the regular school program does not seem to be helping Mexican-American pupils to achieve school success regardless of his competence in English, birthplace, parental birthplace, sex, length of residency in the U. S., and aptitude. They argue that positive identification with one's culture is a powerful motivation for tested achievement. Self worth seems adaptive in the face of benign neglect, but how is it acquired? Padelford (1970) emphasized the importance of self-concept to reading scores for both Anglo and Mexican-American students, both middle and lower class. He also found that Anglo boys did better on both measures than Mexican-American boys, with no difference in levels between girls of the two groups.

d. Blacks

We have up to now explicitly been dealing with problems of migrant groups to urban areas. We turn now to a discussion of psychological anthropological studies of the group which (while migration is still occurring from the South) represents a more settled urban ethnic group: Blacks.

Several works have recently appeared on urban Blacks, but the most psychological anthropologically oriented is Hanners (1969). The book is also interesting because it marks with Ogbu (1974) attempts by non-American anthropologists to come to grips with Black U. S. culture. Using the tools of the anthropologist, Hanners describes life in the ghetto, but his particular interest is given to the development of male role behavior, a subject which also concerned Elliot Liebow in Tally's Corner. In fact, in one way or another, much of the anthropological literature about the urban black ghetto has centered on male role behavior, either of teenagers (Walter Miller, for example) or adults. Discussion of male role learning raises one of those classic and recurring questions for anthropologists who study complex societies. The dispute rages among the following three positions.

- (1) Male behavior in a black ghetto is a deviant form of normal "mainstream" male role behavior. Black ghetto males are more aggressive and sexual because they are protesting their masculinity in terms defined as masculine by white, middle-class people. That they overdo their behavior into a caricature of the white, middle-class male role is attributable to their coming from a subculture where matrifocal families predominate, depriving the child of male role models, and their inability to successfully carry out instrumental aspects of the male role results from their lack of training and exclusion from jobs.

(2) Male behavior in a black ghetto is evidence of a ghetto specific or black culture specific see Young (1970) definition of maleness; the ghetto is simply a different culture from white, middle-class America. It is a mistake to interpret ghetto behavior as a reaction to or related to white, middle-class definitions. This is just the way ghetto males behave. Upholders of this position typically downgrade the "protest masculine" explanation as inappropriate, and also suggest it to be inaccurate since male influence in the ghetto is strong, particularly through extra-familial groups.

(3) Male behavior in a black ghetto is merely a local expression of a "culture of poverty" which is found worldwide. The critical dimension here is that the state of poverty, in a culture in which wealth is also present, creates certain behavioral patterns which hold, regardless of what mainstream culture is like. Matrifocal households and aggressive males are part of this "culture," and are therefore to be expected in our black ghetto.

So we have in anthropology a choice, and increasingly a dispute between, respectively, the "subculture" (or subsociety), the "separate culture," and the "culture of poverty" schools in interpreting ghetto behavior. Liebow upholds the first position, and Valentine appears to learn toward it; Hanners the second; and Oscar Lewis and his followers the third. Hanners spends much of his book justifying his own position. But all three schools and the dogmas which surround them may block our understanding of life in a ghetto, or anywhere. The concept of culture, far

from being the anthropologist's analytic tool can prevent analysis by obscuring what it is that we are talking about. Our job is to explain human behaviors by making use of anthropological theory and method. Specifically what we need are descriptions of behavior.

Hannerz suggests that ghetto sex role behavior cannot be accounted for as a protest of middle-class values. Following the discussion in II above, this explanation would require a dynamic of father absence leading to feminine identity and subsequent protest of hypermasculine traits, yet as Hannerz argues, there are men in the ghetto who could serve as role models. Hannerz uses this to argue against the subculture position, but his argument is misdirected. Hannerz is right, if not original, in asking why fixate on father absence in explaining sex role learning. As the literature above shows, why not father salience, mother salience, sibling presence and salience, peer groups, etc., not to mention effects of street society, power positions, etc.? But this has nothing to do with whether the black ghetto is a culture or a subculture.

As we have seen, there is a fair amount of psychological anthropology literature which talks about the effects of such variables regardless of a particular culture's definitions. What we need are studies which link these influences to behavior. In our anthropological studies of the urban ghetto, we must see to what extent our cross-cultural findings of the last fifty years, and our findings of the last twenty years in the fields of perception, cognition and socialization, can account for what we see in the ghetto. That is, rather than endless polemics about what kind of culture or subculture ghetto life is, or calls from Valentine for studies

to test the point, we must get on with the business of understanding and predicting human behavior wherever it occurs. To say, as Hannerz does, that black male behavior is ghetto specific is not an explanation and is barely a description. But following an extensive ethnographic study to account for that behavior as a result of certain developmental and situational pressures which are themselves extensively treated and tests in anthropological literature is the kinds of contribution I hope to see come out of psychological anthropology.

Whether the black ghetto is a subculture, a culture, or a local manifestation of a culture of poverty is an important problem for educators, and each position can find its defenders. I think all three are true to a certain extent, which is why I think none of them means very much. What we need to do in anthropology, which will be useful to educators, is to understand contemporary human behavior, to specify the importance of what goes on outside of school to the learning of social behavior, studies of the techniques of instruction that exist there, and the processes of learning that are involved. In some ways we know more about Samoa than what happens six blocks east of my office. Yet once we have the answers, the question of what the school's role should be, if any, will be more easily answered.

Weisner (1973) reports on the effects of rural-urban migration in Kenya in a circulatory migration pattern of high mobility into and out of both rural and urban communities. He argues that residence at a particular point in time in either town or country appears to be less important in determining social attachments than are ties of clanship

(sub-clan affiliation) and composite social status. He argues that the geographically dispersed rural-urban network is a non localized social unit that must be considered as a socially important adaptation during rapid social change. While Weisner's study properly belongs in the next section, it is included here for its conceptual relevance to problems of circulatory migration in urban U. S., the South, and the Caribbean.

e. Acculturation

Psychological anthropology, because it emerged within American anthropology, has spent much time investigating problems of acculturation as they occur in North American Indian cultures--a closeby "laboratory." A great deal of this research took place prior to the past twenty years and is usefully reviewed elsewhere (e.g., Honigsmann 1972, Barnouw 1973, and for a bibliography, Haring 1956). Nevertheless studies of acculturation phenomena continue and certain recent studies have great relevance for education. While the field is not as dominated by North American Indian studies as it once was, there are still some imbalances. In the discussion that follows the discussion of social change will deal with psychological effects of experiencing change or acculturation. Personality variables which predict change and which are linked, some way casually, to it, are duly reviewed in the abstracts contained in the appendix.

We begin with a series of studies which examine stress as a consequence of acculturation. Berry (1970) argues that the psychological changes which result from culture contact and social change have in part been concerned with the concept of stress, particularly resulting from marginality. Data for acculturated Australian aborigines supported the

marginality theory, and further showed that those rejecting the white society were those who exhibited the most marginality, most deviance, and most stress.

Graves (1970) has written with eloquence about the Indians for whom urban migration is chosen as a result of inadequate economic opportunities on the reservation, and who then find the economic role of the migrant in the city to be only marginal (Sanday 1973 has gone so far as to call them culturally marginal). To this he attributes in large part, their extremely high rate of arrest in Denver, Colorado, for drinking and drinking related offenses. His ten year study of 259 Navajo male migrants reveals the economic, social and psychological pressures and constraints (see also Graves 1973). The film "The Exiles" is a useful concomitant to Graves work, although the scene changes to Los Angeles.

Tribble (1969) has compared the psycho-social characteristics of employed and unemployed Western Oklahoma male Indians representing 19 tribes. Several salient differences were found which reinforce Graves thesis: While level of training and education were unrelated to employment status, self-concept variables were clearly linked.

Savishinsky (1971) discusses environmental as well as socio-cultural sources of stress that prove cumulative in a small village in Canada's Northwest territories. Stress producers include acculturation influences, a local feud, prolonged periods of bush isolation, and population concentration, and expectations and obligations for generosity and reciprocity. He argues that the annual cycle of bank dispersal coming together is adaptive to stress. Each new move ends tensions in the last period, each

new phase creates new stresses to be released in the next part of the cycle. Savishinsky has no doubt that acculturation produces stress, but he places it in context with "naturally occurring stress" and shows a naturally occurring outlet.

On the other hand, Robbins (1973) describes a situation which lacks a natural cure, and he describes an increase in interpersonal conflict as a concomitant of economic change. He describes the drinking behaviors of the Naskapi indians of Quebec, Canada, and argues an increase in frequencies of identity struggles, and the development of ritualized or formalized social interactions which serve as identity resolving forums. He concludes (Robbins 1971) that drinking behaviors provide an area in which individuals can make status claims. Those who are successful wage earners (status used to be achieved through hunting) make such claims by gift giving. Those who are failures make status claims through aggressive behavior. Robbins argues then that aggressive drinking behavior provides the Naskapi with a means for resolving an identity he has not been able to achieve through the new economic channels. Robbins research is a cut above the usual linkages made between stress and "alcoholism" because of its analysis of the behaviors associated with drinking rather than drinking per se.

Savard (1969) is not as sophisticated in this respect, focusing as he does on a comparison of alcoholic and nonalcoholic Navajo men. However, one finding which does seem useful is his conclusion that the Navajo alcoholic seems to use alcohol not as escape but as a means of entree into

social relationships. The important thing then was the group fellowship among drinkers, seen as countering an inability to function in as large a variety of social groups as nonalcoholics function in.

Levy and Kunitz (1971) argue that the feelings of anomie described above are not responses to acculturation, but should be seen rather as persisting elements of Navajo culture. However, Resnik and Dizman (1971) link higher rates of suicide on Indian reservations to high collective helplessness and hopelessness. They identify the following factors as causal: breakdown of traditional values, geographic isolation, widespread unemployment, and high incidence of alcoholism, which seems to return us to where we began, since they do not over examine the behaviors that accompany drinking. Explanations of culturally sanctioned responses for dealing with stresses of acculturation, or other causes, are congruent with Whiting, et al. (1966) description of culturally sanctioned defense mechanisms for handling a failure to live up to cultural norms. A considerable promise for future research in this area can be assured.

Of course, not all cultures succeed in this and individual expressions of stress-induced anger are possible. Ackerman (1971) relates juvenile delinquency among Nez Perce Indians to marital instability, loss of communal discipline, loss of patrilocality, and sex role definition changes. Hellon (1970) argues that "the process of acculturation of the Canadian aboriginal, with its invalidation of cultural controls, will result in those mental illnesses characterized by lack of impulse control." He finds high rates of personality disorders, violence and promiscuity in

support of his theory. However, Boag (1970) feels that the social problems faced by arctic natives resemble those of under-privileged minorities elsewhere, and those of underdeveloped countries to western society. While traditional patterns of psychopathology are obscured by social change, they are replaced by familial identity and family disorganization pathologies. We have heard this debate before, and to make the linkage clear we might argue that for some theorists stress reactions are culture specific, for others they represent reactions to new role demands made by the larger society, and for others they represent yet another manifestation of a culture shared by poor minorities everywhere. Once again, a lot more data are needed to adequately sort out these processes.

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- 1966b The Learning of Values. In People of Rimrock: A Study of Values in Five Cultures. E. Z. Vogt, and E. M. Albert, Eds. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Wolcott, Harry F.

- 1969 A Kwakiutl Village and School. New York: Hold, Rinehart, and Winston.

IV. Conclusions

The preceding will make clear that I perceive much of psychological anthropology to be relevant to education. My purpose in this concluding section is not to rehearse the points already made. Part I makes clear enough the development of the trends I see emerging in the study of perception and cognition which those interested in education should find valuable. We have emphasized the crucial role that culture plays in learning and thinking. We argued that the content of perception is culturally determined and culturally learned, and argued against assuming that biological differences can account for group differences in perception. We suggested that certain perceptual styles, emphases and skills are also culturally influenced, and not biologically determined. An understanding of these factors is important to a foundation of educational inquiry. Part II reviews research in socialization process emphasizing that education is embedded in a socio-cultural matrix. Providing a bridge between psychological and social anthropology, we argued that educational practices, in any given culture, arise from the requirements of the maintenance systems of that culture. School failure, we emphasized, cannot be discussed without examining the functions and interrelationships of the school in the larger society. In Part III we argued the importance of historical context (migration and change) and situational factors (minority status) as well. We also examined some specific researches with various groups for whom the educational literature has had some interest, and in some cases, preoccupation.

Rather than provide a detailed summary of what I have already written, my purposes in this concluding section are: 1) Recommend how psychological anthropologists might more effectively influence educational research, 2) build on the material already presented some delineation of priority problems in education, and 3) as overview, take up a fundamental criticism which might appear to argue that psychological anthropology, despite what has said here, does not have relevance to the study of education. I will discuss each of these in turn.

How Psychological Anthropology Can Influence Education

The methods and theories of psychological anthropology have produced enough research to convince me of their importance to educational inquiry to move us in a direction where we will be better able to deal with educational problems. But this promise can be achieved only if there are more overt linkages, and more involvement of the psychological anthropologists in applied research. Several years ago, when discussing the need for anthropologists to do research in their own society, Paul Bohannan argued that anthropologist had contented themselves with a smug certainty of the value of their research to understanding our own culture, thinking the relevance of their investigations for sociologists and psychologist in the U. S. to be obvious. Anthropologists soon recognized that while their work was not totally ignored, it was nevertheless true that if they wanted research of a particular type done in the U. S. they were going to have to do it themselves. Similarly, up to now, psychological anthropologists have been content to do

their research confident that their work's significance to others would be so obvious that e.g., educators would apply their anthropological findings in the formulation and construction of their own research. This left the psychological anthropologist free to pursue his "pure research" into the lead and made explicit use of his good works. There is little to justify this chauvinism. Anthropologists have had an affect (Albeit uneven--see LeVine 19) on a small group of cross-cultural psychologists (see e.g., Berry & Dasen 1973, Berry & Witkin n.d.) but these have not, in turn, been influential in education. Frankly, the time has come for researchers to accept the fact that it is up to them to demonstrate the relevance of their work to educational researchers and educational policy makers. If they do not, no one else will. And by demonstrate I mean demonstrate, not simply pleading for its importance and pointing to its significance. This puts more burden on the anthropologist, to be sure, but to want to have an effect and not take an active role, is self delusion.

In a sense, this is, for me, the most painful part of the exercise I have undertaken here for the National Academy. I really do believe that so much of the literature I have reviewed here is directly and urgently needed by and relevant to educators, yet I have no confidence that simply asserting and explaining will have any effect. Too many will find it "very interesting" and then go on exactly as before, doing the things they were trained to do, not what needs to be done. In presenting the ideas reviewed here in various educational settings over the years, I have become more convinced of the need for direct involvement. The problems out there facing policy people are real

and immediate. Other disciplines have promised "quick" and often "dirty" results. Anthropology is a time consuming discipline. It questions basic principles in its cross-cultural stance that other disciplines simply take for granted along with the policy people. Unless we become directly involved, it is easy to ignore our ideas as untested and us as aliens. The futility of authoring this paper is summed in the phrase, "will anyone listen?"

And the deafness is not just in the camp of the non-anthropologist. Will the psychological anthropologist, comfortable in his academic department, leave its safety for a tour of duty at "the education school?" I know of one anthropologist deeply interested in doing applied educational research who restrains himself lest he jeopardize his chances for tenure at a large prestigious department. All academics seem willing to be applied researchers in the "relevance" sections for their grant proposals, but few follow up and test the real importance of their research. We argued above that the educational institutions of a society could only be understood within the total sociocultural context within which they occur. Within that framework it is fair to ask why does our academic society continue to perpetuate the myth and stigma of poor quality research in education (ample evidence existing for both sides of the question)? Is it important to a conservative educational establishment to keep the innovative, creative, "quality" people out? Why did a leading sociologist tell me recently that he was free to indulge his interests in education only after establishing his reputation as pure sociological researcher, a not unusual pattern. Why does the academic community exact such a penalty from the scholar who is concerned with the implications of his

results that he dares risk it only when "established"? Is it because it wants to protect young scholars from the dangers of being seduced into evaluative and contract research away from theoretically important problems, or is it instead its own symbol system necessary for placating academics' consciences when they are troubled by the problems that face us. There was after all really "nothing we could do." Or are we unwilling to tackle large problems lest we find and lose confidence in the relevance of our mission to solving problems? While one may want to distinguish between research and the application of its results (although the former without the possibility of the latter is hard to contemplate), there is no such thing as totally "pure" research. Yet the myth persists, and the more pure is the more holy.

The final irony in the myth system is that applied research is accused as selling out to the "system." In an era of Project Camelot, the CIA, Watergate, and big government, applied researchers are suspected (by Battilla among others) as oiling the creaking gears of the big oppressive machine. Rather than seeing that the degree to which this has been true in the past results from the self selection processes described above, it is used to provide additionally negative loadings for the applied researcher. This necessitates a double think in the ranks. Getting a grant from NIMH is not selling out or researching for the system, but working for NIMH is, etc. Until we break through some of these myths, few psychological anthropologists (this applies to several disciplines new to education) may be willing to undergo the penalties. Until they do, none is likely to have much impact.

Research Priorities

Much of the work reviewed in Part I leads toward improving our ability to recognize, discover, and measure human diversity in diverse populations. Such work is badly needed when compared with the unidimensionality and culture boundedness of current practice. One has but to watch a Spanish-speaking child in New York City being assigned to a grade or track on the basis of his performance on an English reading test to know how much room there is for improvement. The research and methodologies reviewed above can provide us with the ability to do research on diverse cognitive and behavior styles. It would make more likely research which does not confuse differences with deficit; research which is sensitive to the meaning and consequences of ethnicity, and how ethnic cues are learned; research which investigates a diversity of learning styles and strategies and their relationship to various kinds of "academic" performance, not one arbitrary standard.

Research in Section II above leads us to further research in the nature and diversity of educational environments, in school and out, and how these factors interact with factors mentioned in the previous paragraph. Here to is research which asks "What are the goals of education for individuals and populations?" For our own society, Peggy Sanday (1973) has recently distinguished cultural pluralism from structural pluralism. Cultural pluralism is a cultural diversity and a difference brought about by differences in group norms resulting in different behavioral styles among various ethnic and linguistic groups. Group identity is nourished and homogenization eschewed. Structural pluralism is the differential incorporation of various

populations categories into the opportunity structure of the society. Academically it is easy to distinguish between the two. It is easy to talk about maintaining cultural differences while at the same time providing the learning required to successfully compete for resources and thereby avoid cultural pluralism from turning into structural pluralism, but is it in fact practical in a society so used to differentially incorporating race and sex and nationality populations in its opportunity structure? Indeed, an important research question is "What are the consequences for children who recognize that the groups to which they belong do not participate fully in the opportunity structure?" We return to this below.

Part III emphasized the importance of examining the affects of historical and sociocultural factors external to the group studied specifically the history of migration, and the placement of a cultural group in acculturation positions. These researchers emphasize the importance of examining the effects of migration, ethnic, and culture contact phenomena on individuals and groups and through them on education. What are the prerequisites for functioning in these situations? Are they acquired equally for all groups? How? And the motivational consequences of imbalances in the distribution of education and other resources all comprise priorities for research developing out of Section III.

Research in Part III also reminds us that anthropologists have developed three perspectives on behaviors observed in these kinds of settings. Some see them as reactions against or corruptions of the dominant or mainstream culture, some as expressions of a uniquely different e.g., "ghetto specific" cultures, and others as expressions of a culture of poverty.

Ogbu (1974) for example finds for blacks and Mexican-Americans in California that his results in an adaptation of school failure specific to these groups. Since "they have been given inferior education and those among them who managed to receive good educations have been excluded from the social and economic rewards awarded to whites...Blacks responded, more or less unconsciously, by reducing their efforts in school tasks to the level of rewards they expected as future adults. This mode of adaptation results in a high proportion of school failure" (Ogbu, 1974:211). For blacks this adaptation reduces the pain of working as hard or harder than do whites for fewer rewards. For whites, this adaptation provides an excuse for the uneven allocation of resources by showing that "they" just can't make it, giving rise to the perseverance and popularity of Jensenist theories about inferior ability. We turn to Ogbu's analysis now as it raises the question: "Is there room for psychologizing in an anthropology of education?"

OVERVIEW

For Ogbu, "Burgherside" children fail, in part, because of the attitudes held by the school staff toward them, and fundamentally because the school system treats the school failure adaptation, which he describes for the group, in what Ogbu labels "psychological and clinical terms," rather than as a syndrome embedded in the structure of the larger society. Ogbu dismisses these psychological and clinical explanations (e.g., those that talk of cultural deprivation, school inferiority, or genetic inferiority). For him the real source of school failure is the unequal rewards distributed for education by the larger society. With that view, for Ogbu psychological

research is reductionist and ignores the predominant social reality: the pervasiveness of the subordination of minority groups in the larger society. However, like so many (dare we say Marxists?) who eschew psychological accounts (mentalism!) Ogbu's replacement is itself a psychological theory, and a largely untested one at that. He is asserting that there is an impact of prejudice and unequal allocation of resources on motivation to learn, and motivation is surely a most psychological concept. Ogbu's explanations, rather than throwing out psychological accounts, instead call for better psychologizing to enable the examination of the phenomena he describes. In other words they require psychological anthropology to attend to situational and historical factors and not to be rigorously childhood deterministic. We need to learn more about competence motivation, and how children respond to diverse competence feedbacks. We need to investigate more than ever how people handle conflicts between the ideal and the real, frustration of goal and self concept formation. These are social psychological phenomena, and perhaps it is long over due that psychological anthropologists interacted with social psychologists as much as they have in the past with cognitive and developmental psychologists.

Ogbu is undeniably right when he calls for greater attention to the historical context. We have tried to do something of the same thing in Part III above, suggesting ways by which psychological anthropologists have and could examine such phenomena. Psychologizing about blacks without taking such factors into consideration is reminiscent of several past debates in anthropology about the relative importance of childhood vs. situational or historical accounts. It is perhaps useful to review two of them here to

emphasize that psychological anthropology has been attentive to this issue, and as a field is not concerned with constructing a single minded diaperology, but rather with a more eclectic view of man.

In 1958 G. Morris Carstairs described Hindu males as hostile, paranoid, and suspicious--quite the opposite of the Gandhi image most Americans had come to accept.* He related his findings to a single minded application of classic Freudian theory, the while oblivious of the fact that he, a white physician and a colonial to boot, was doing his research in immediately post independence India! Did one need to seek out early infancy explanations of suspicion and distrust, or would a more parsimonious account talk about how people would likely relate to him at that time and place? There are many other instances in the book in which obvious historical accounts are ignored and Freudian accounts produced with single minded devotion. For example, the Hindu refusal to eat meat is explained as a repression of his desire to eat his father's penis. Such diaperology howlers as this were thoroughly explored in M. Opler's review of Carstairs' book (Opler 1959, 1960, see also Carstairs 1960).

Douglas Haring was disturbed by accounts of Japanese national character which emphasized Freudian or developmental theory to the exclusion of situational and historical factors. He argued that the Japanese national character, to be understood, had to be viewed as an adaptation to life in a totalitarian police state (Haring, 1953, 1956). Much as Ogbu was to argue

*Whiting 1966 offers some later data which bear out some of Carstairs' claims about hostility and aggression.

20 years later for blacks, Haring, a psychological anthropologist, was arguing that much psychological anthropology research was ignoring the predominant social reality: the pervasiveness of the police state techniques for maintaining order.

Now while it is fair to say that the field of psychological anthropology as a whole has emphasized some factors to the detriment of others, it is not fair to assert that psychological anthropology has no relevance because of this imbalance. There are tools, and there is an existing literature which does focus on the relevant and the important variable, as we have strived to show throughout this report. The literature also makes clear that it makes little sense to revert to an opposite stance by ignoring childhood developmental factors in the many situations in which they have been demonstrated to have an effect. Part of the research question to be answered for particular problems is which kinds of variable are having the most potent effects for the phenomena under investigation. Regrettably, however, this openness is sometimes obscured by polemic. For example, shortly after Haring's position was reported, Geoffrey Gorer, an English diaperologist, published a paper linking English national character to the London bobby! Haring (personal communication) felt bitterly that this was a caustic attempt to satirize and misrepresent his viewpoint.

Suffice it to say here then that psychological anthropology has been willing to acknowledge the legitimacy of historical or situational accounts (see Barnouw 1973, Chapter 1 for example). Since these factors seem very much, for our own society's minorities, a significant part of the input into

how learning and thinking are structured, the attention of psychological anthropologists to such phenomena, perhaps in collaboration with different kinds of psychologists than we have been used to, is a priority of future research.

This leads inevitably to the question "What are the goals of any educational assessment?" Assuming that our theory is sophisticated so that we can find out what is important to measure, and how to measure it for whatever group of interest, why are we doing this research? Are we discovering talent, or providing the larger society with another excuse for discriminating against those said to lack it. Are we helping developing countries best utilize their scarce educational resources by putting its money where it is most likely to win, or are we helping it rationalize its inability to serve 90% of its population? Are we searching for information and data to foster and improve the likelihood of cultural pluralism and diversity, or are we engaged in more label making and stereotyping, to which others can apply negative loadings? We cannot ignore these dangers.

The research reviewed above from psychological anthropology seems therefore to call for the following programmatic priorities to which the Committee on Anthropology and Education should want to turn its efforts:

- 1) increasing the diversity of educational environments to increase the likelihood of children finding one within which they can function;
- 2) increase the diversity of methods of research by securing funding for research combine more standard anthropological techniques with longitudinal, experimental and quasi-experimental designs.

- 3) increase the diversity of research personnel so as to increase the number of disciplines represented, and involve the people being studied in the decisions that will ultimately concern them;
- 4) increase the number and diversity of educational outcomes sought for assessment, and the procedures for measuring them;
- 5) nurture the legitimacy of multiple educational outcomes that foster cultural diversity without reinforcing structural pluralism;
- 6) insist on curriculum definitions that allow the examination of what goes on in school as part of a larger context--the rest of the child's life--and the rest of American Society, or whatever society the research is in;
- 7) encourage the involvement of "mainstream" psychological anthropology in education programs and break through the self-fulfilling prophecy syndrome of the quality of education research.

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1974 Culture and Cognition. London: Methuen Press.
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n. d. Psychological Differential in Cross-Cultural Perspective.
In Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology.
- Carstairs, G. M.
1958 The Twice Born. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
1960 Rejoinder. American Anthropologist 62:504.
- Gorer, Jeffrey.
1955 Modification of National Character: The Role of the Police
in England. The Journal of Social Issues, Vol. II, #2, pp. 24-32.
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1953 Japanese National Character: Cultural Anthropology, Psycho-
Analysis and History. The Yale Review, 42:373-392.
1956 Personal Character and Cultural Milieu. Syracuse: Syracuse
University Press.
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1966 Methods in Cross-Culture Psychology. In Carmichael Handbook
of Child Psychology.
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1974 The Next Generation. New York: Academic Press.
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1959 Review of Carstairs' Twice Born. American Anthropologist 61:140-142.
1960 Response to Carstairs. American Anthropologist 62:505-511.
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1973 Cultural and Structural Pluralism in the United States. MSSB
Conference on the Contribution of Anthropology to Social Policy
Planning. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, October.
- Whiting, Beatrice
1965 American Anthropologist: Sex Identity Conflict and Physical
Violence: A Comparative Study. American Anthropologist 1967:123-140.

APPENDICES*

*Author or journal abstracts have been used where they are available and intelligible. They are marked AA and JA respectively. Some sources especially in Appendix A remain to be abstracted.

APPENDIX A: SELECTED ADDITIONAL SOURCES AND ANNOTATIONS--PERCEPTION
AND COGNITION

Al-Issa, I., and W. Dennis

1970 Cross-Cultural Studies of Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart,
& Winston.

Almy, M.

1970 The Usefulness of Piagetian Methods for Studying Primary School
Children in Uganda. In Studying School Children in Uganda. M. Almy,
J. L. Durits, and M. A. White. New York: Teachers College Press.

A. Barclay, and D. R. Cusumano

1967 Father Absence, Cross-Sex Identity and Field Independent Behavior
in Male Adolescents. Child Development 38:243-50.

Berlin, B., and A. K. Romney

1964 Descriptive Semantics of Tzeltal Numerical Classifiers. In Trans-
cultural Studies in Cognition. A. K. Romney, and R. G. D'Andrade, Eds.
American Anthropologist 66:79-98.

Bruner, J. S., and R. R. Oliver

1963 Development of Equivalence Transformations in Children. Monograph.
Society for Research in Child Development 28:k25-143.

Campbell, D. T.

1964 Distinguishing Differences in Perception from Failures of Communi-
cation in Cross-Cultural Studies. In Cross-Cultural Understanding:
Epistemology in Anthropology. F. S. C. Northrop, Ed. New York:
Harper & Row, pp. 308-366.

Campbell, D. T., and J. C. Stanley

1966 Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research. Chicago:
Rand McNally.

Chandra, Subhas

1972 An Assessment of Perceptual Acuity in Fiji: A Cross-Cultural Study with Indians and Fijians. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:401-411. 110 Indian and 83 Fijian Ss of ages 15 through 20 were administered Gough and McGurk's 30-item visual Perceptual Acuity Test (PAT). In accord with prior findings in French, Italian, Swiss and American applications, scores correlated significantly with age ($r=.26$); in addition, mean weighted scores increased for each older subsample by age. Insignificant differences in performances were observed between Fijian and Indian Ss, and between two small subsamples of delinquents and nondelinquents matched for age. Sex was related to performance, with men attaining higher scores. PAT performance was essentially unrelated to school achievement, and to ability as measured by Raven's Matrices. It may be concluded that the PAT is a promising device for cross-cultural study of age gradients in the development of perceptual acuity.

Cheng, Tsu-Hsin, and Mei-Ke Lei

1960 An Investigation into the Scope of the Conception of Numbers among 6-7 Year Old Children. *Acta Psychological Sinica* 1:28-35.

Cole, Michael, John Gay, and Joseph Glick

1968 A Cross-Cultural Investigation of Information Processing.

International Journal of Psychology 3:93-102.

One hundred and twenty American Ss (Yale students, seven to nine and ten to twelve year olds) were compared with 120 illiterate adults, school children, and illiterate children of the Kpelle tribe of Liberia on number recognition of random and patterned dots. Although American subjects were significantly more accurate than Kpelle Ss, the results can be variously interpreted, e.g., in terms of differences of informational requirements of the two cultures. Study of relationships of performance with a culture may aid in eventual treatment of differences between cultures. However trivial, alternatives are not likely to account for these patterns of results. AA

Cole, M., J. Gay, and J. Glick

1968 Reversal and Nonreversal Shifts among a West African Tribal people.

Journal of Experimental Psychology 76:323-324.

Conklin, H. C.

1955 Hanunoo Color Categories. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology

11:339-344.

Cryns, A. G. J.

1972 African Intelligence: A Critical Survey of Cross-Cultural

Intelligence Research in Africa South of the Sahara. Journal of Social Psychology 57:283-301.

Dasen, P. R.

1970 Cognitive Development in Aborigines of Central Australia: Concrete Operations and Perceptual Activities. Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, Canberra.

Dawson, J. L. M.

1963 Psychological Effects of Social Change in a West African Community. D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford.

1966 Kwashiorkor, Gynaecomastia and Feminization Processes. Journal of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene 69:175-179.

1967a Cultural and Physiological Influences upon Spatial-Perceptual Processes in West Africa. Parts I and II. International Journal of Psychology 2: 115-128 and 171-185.

DeLacey, P. R.

1970 A Cross-Cultural Study of Classificatory Ability in Australia. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 1:293-304.

Classificatory tests based on those of Piaget and Inhelder were administered to four groups of 6-10 year old Ss: aborigines with and without extensive contact with European children living in Australia. Only a small subsample of high-contact aborigines performed on a par with the European children, leading to the interpretation that environmental differences were the major influence in the performance differences found. JA

DeLacey, P. R.

- 1971a Classificatory Ability and Verbal Intelligence among High-Contact Aboriginal and Low-Socioeconomic White Australian Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:393-396.

DeLemos, M. M.

- 1969a Conceptual Development in Aboriginal Children: Implications for Aboriginal Education. In *Aborigines and Education*. S. S. Dunn, and C. M. Tatz, Eds. Melbourne: Sun Brooks, pp. 244-263.
- 1969b The Development of Conservation in Aboriginal Children. *International Journal of Psychology* 4:255-269.
- 1973 The Development of Spatial Concepts in Zulu Children. In *Culture and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology*. J. W. Berry, and P. R. Dasen, Eds. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Dempsey, A. D.

- 1971 Time Conservation Across Cultures. *International Journal of Psychology* 6:115-120.

Dennis, W. and R. W. Russell

- 1940 Piaget's Questions Applied to Zuni Children. *Child Development* 11:181-187.

Dubreuil, G., and C. Bosclair

- 1960 Le Réalisme Engantin à la Martinique et au Canada Français. *Etude Genetique et Experimentale*. In *Thought from the Learned Societies of Canada*. Toronto: Gage pp. 83-95.

1966 Quelques aspects de la Pensée Enfantine à la Martinique. In
 Les Sociétés Antillaises: Etudes Anthropologiques. J. Benoist, Ed.
 Department of Anthropology, University of Montreal, pp. 79-99.

Eells, K. W., A. Davis, R. J. Havighurst, R. W. Tyler, and V. E. Herrick
 1959 Intelligence and Cultural Differences. Chicago: University of
 Chicago Press.

Etuk, E.

1967 The Development of Number Concepts: An Examination of Piaget's
 Theory with Yoruba-Speaking Nigerian Children. Ed.D. dissertation,
 Teachers College, Columbia University.

Fitzgerald, L.

1969 The Use of Psychological Testing in Rehabilitation Planning for
 Alaskan Native People. Australian Psychologist 4:146-152.
 70 Native Alaskans were individually administered either the WAIS
 (N=42) or the Revised Beta Test (N=28) to determine rehabilitation
 guidance possibilities. Results indicate that while scores on sub-
 tests of the Revised Beta test did not differ significantly, poorest
 scores were in the area of visualization of similarities and dis-
 similarities and in the ability to envision a whole from the parts on
 a two-dimensional plane. The WAIS Performance IQ scores were
 significantly higher than Verbal IQ scores, with highest scores in the
 Object Assembly subtest and lowest scores in the Arithmetic subtest.
 Results support the "impression that the Alaska Native has a greater
 facility in the handling of concrete problems." It is concluded that

while an IQ test alone cannot measure the abilities of native Alaskans, a good test can be useful in evaluating rehabilitation potential by providing a distribution of abilities and an indication of the degree to which such abilities differ from a normative population. JA

Foster, George M.

1973 Dreams, Character, and Cognitive Orientation in Tzintzuntzan
Ethos 1:106

The thesis advanced in this paper is that dreams in Tzintzuntzan, Michoacan, Mexico, when analyzed for manifest content, reflect remarkably accurately large areas of basic character and collective cognitive orientations of the villagers.

French, D.

1963 The Relationship of Anthropology to Studies in Perception and Cognition. In Psychology: A Study of A Science, Vol. 6. S. Koch, Ed. New York: McGraw Hill. pp. 388-428. -

Gay, J., and M. Cole

1967 The New Mathematics and an Old Culture. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

Gladwin, T.

1970 East is a Big Bird. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press

Gladwin, T., and W. C. Sturtevant

1972 Anthropology and Human Behavior. Washington: Anthropological Society of Washington.

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1944 The Logic of African Science and Witchcraft. Rhodes-Livingstone
Journal 1:61

Goodnow, J. J.

1969b Problems in Research on Culture and Thought. In Studies in
Cognitive Development: Essays in Honor of Jean Piaget. In
D. Elkind, and J. H. Flavell, Eds. New York: Oxford University
Press. pp. 439-462.

Gorsuch, Richard L., and M. Louise Barnes

1973 Stages of Ethical Reasoning and Moral Norms of Carib Youths.
Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 4:283

Ethical development was investigated in a cross-cultural context by
examining both the cognitive structure of ethical reasoning and the
content of perceived moral norms in Carib boys. No evidence was
found for the position that the stages might be a function of cultural
norms. Other results were also as expected by stages theory: villagers
were at a lower stage than the older youths. However, only the first
two cognitive stages were found and the cultural invariance of the
perceived moral norms was as great as that of the stages. AA

Greenfield, P. M., and J. S. Bruner

1966 Culture and Cognitive Growth. International Journal of Psychology
1:89-107.

Hallowell, A. I.

1951 Cultural Factors in the Structuralization of Perception. In Social Psychology at the Crossroads. J. H. Rohrer, and M. Sherif, Eds. New York: Harper & Row.

Handel, Amos

1973 The D 48 as a Measure of General Ability Among Adolescents in Israel: one sample of 557 boys from grades 7 to 11 and three samples of seventh grade pupils with n's of 127, 950 and 161. The results showed a progressive increase of D 48 means from grades 7 to 11 and concurrent validities of .46 to .59 against difference criteria of seventh grade scholastic achievements. Highly similar validity coefficients were found in other countries. Cross-culturally equivalent data were also found for the correlation of the D 48 with the Progressive Matrices and for the order of difficulty of the D 48 items. The results support the suitability of the D 48 as a cross-cultural measure of the general ability in terms of these circumscribed aspects and suggest the promising potential in terms of tests similarly based on a cross-culturally common background of perceptual experience.

Harkness, Sara

1973 Universal Aspects of Learning Color Codes: A Study in Two Cultures.

Ethos 2:175

The research described in this article addresses itself to questions such as: if color lexicons do evolve in a stable order, then might there be some cognitive logic behind it? For instance, do children

learn colors in "evolutionary order"? Are there differences in adults' knowledge of color terms in their own language? How do various colors function cognitively for both children and adults? And, finally, why do some cultures have more basic color terms than others?

Hart, J. A.

1965 A Study of the Cognitive Capacity of a Group of Australian Aboriginal Children. M. A. qualifying examination thesis, University of Queensland.

Heron, A.

1968 Studies of Perception and Reasoning in Zambian Children. International Journal of Psychology 3:23-29.

Heron, Alstair

1971 Concrete Operations, "g," and Achievement in Zambian Children. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 2:325.

A comparison is made between Zambian elementary school children in the range of "stated ages" 7-17 years who provided evidence of weight conservation behavior and those who did not do so. The principle dependent variable is performance on locally-developed psychometric measures of reasoning ability, and further data were available in the form of scores on an objectively-marked national Secondary School Selection examination. Very little connection is found between the conservation-status of the subjects and their performance on these

variables, and the implications for a possible rapprochement between psychometric and Piagetian approaches to human intelligence are discussed in the light of cultural factors. An experimental approach to the problem is recommended. AA

Irvine, S. H.

1967 How Fair is Culture? Factorial Studies of Raven's Progressive Matrices in Africa. International Workshop on Educational Testing. Berlin: Padagogisches Zentrum.

Irvine, Sidney H.

1969 Figural Tests of Reasoning in Africa: Studies in the Use of Raven's Progressive Matrices Across Cultures. International Journal of Psychology 4:217-228.

Experiments involving Ss from various educational groups in Africa and Great Britain, using Raven's Progressive Matrices, compared item difficulty and describe strategies employed. Factorial analysis shows that environmental variables, whether verbally loaded or not, are not associated for central African Ss. Cross-cultural analysis reveals that item difficulties change from culture to culture, and that test scores approach Western patterns as the groups adopt Western value systems. Appearance of differing individual strategies in problem solving renders it unwise to assume that the same total score provides evidence of identical samples of psychological behavior. Research with African Ss shows "that sources of variance exist that call for some revision of...assumptions about the reduction of cultural bias in figural test items." JA

1969b Culture and Mental Ability. *New Scientist* 42:230-231.

Jahoda, G.

1970a A Cross-Cultural Perspective in Psychology. *The Advancement of Science* 27:1-14.

Kellaghan, T. P.

1965 The Study of Cognition in a Non-Western Society with Special Reference to the Yoruba of South Nigeria. Doctoral thesis, University of Belfast.

Kelly, M. R.

1971 Some Aspects of Conservation of Quantity and Length in Papua and New Guinea in Relation to Language, Sex and Years at School. *Territory of Papua and New Guinea Journal of Education* 7:55-60.

Kibuuka, P. M. T.

1966 Traditional Education of the Baganda Tribe. Unpublished MS, National Institute of Education, Makerere University.

Kidd, A. H., and J. L. Rivoire

1965 The Culture-Fair Aspects of the Development of Spatial Perception *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 106:101-111.

Kilbride, Janet E., Michael C. Robbins, and Philip L. Kilbride

1970 The Comparative Motor Development of Baganda, American White, and American Black Infants. *American Anthropologist* 72:1422-1428.
Examined the developmental motor quotients (DMQs) of 71 male and 92 female 1-24 month old rural Baganda infants. Ss were found to be significantly more advanced in motor development in the 1st year of

life when compared to the sample of white and black American children studies by N. Bayley (see PA, Vol. 39:11902). Although the Ss were not as precocious as M. Gerber's sample of Uganda infants, the same downward trend in degree of motor development during the second year of life was found. As age increased, DMQ decreased, but at the age of 24 months, Ss still obtained an average DMQ higher than either American sample. Several interpretations of these results are considered. JA

Kuczynska-Stoffels, M. J.

1970 Figurative Responses of Congolese to the Lowenfeld Mosaic Test.

Revue de Psychologie Applique 20:41-57.

Reports results of administering the Lowenfeld Mosaic Test to 662 Congolese 7-30 year old Ss (313 were between the ages of 8-10 inclusive). The proportion of figurative responses was low. Specific figures of 10-year old Congolese are found among 5-year-old Europeans. The theme most common both in Europe and in the Congo is that of a "home." Distinctive themes preferred by Europeans--trees, plants, flowers, animals and human beings--do not seem to inspire Congolese. JA

Kundu, Chuni L.

1970 Comparison of Intelligence Test Scores of Bhil and High Caste Hindu

Delinquents and Nondelinquents. Journal of Social Psychology

81:265-266.

A cross-cultural study was conducted to determine whether there are significant differences in intelligence test scores between delinquents

and nondelinquents belonging to two strikingly different cultural groups--one from the high caste Hindu communities, and the other from jungle-dwelling illiterate Bhil tribesmen. Significant differences were found at .01 levels on Batia's Battery of Performance Test of Intelligence. AA

Kugelmass, Sol, Amia Lieblich, and Chedvah Ehrlich

1972 Perceptual Exploration in Israeli Jewish and Bedouin Children.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 3:345.

A sample of 104 Israeli Bedouin children were tested in an attempt to clarify further the factors influencing developmental trends in visual perception exploration. In addition to a further demonstration of the influence of the specific characteristics of the language of school instruction, the findings suggest the importance of extra-school reading opportunities. A discrepancy between two indices of perceptual exploration was related to different aspects of reading development. While the Bedouin children's perceptual exploration might be considered less mature in some ways related to reading, this was not the case with other aspects of perceptual exploration.

Lesser, G. S., G. Fifer, and D. H. Clark

1965 Mental Abilities of Children from Different Social Class and Cultural Groups. Child Development Monograph 30.

LeVine, R. A.

1970 Cross-Cultural Study in Child Psychology. In Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology, Vol. 2. P. H. Mussen, Ed. New York: Wiley. pp. 559-612.

Lloyd, B. B.

1972 Perception and Cognition: A Cross-Cultural Perspective.

Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

MacArthur, Russell S.

1969 Some Cognitive Abilities of Eskimo, White and Indian-Metis Pupils Aged Nine to Twelve Years. Canadian Journal of Behavior Science 1:50-59.

Factor analysis of ability tests for Eskimo, White and Indian-Metis pupils 9-12 years of ages, indicated for each sample two highly correlated oblique factors labelled v:ED and reasoning from non-verbal stimuli: when native Ss were scored on white T-score norms, least ethnic differences and least decline with age relative to white Ss occurred in the latter abilities. Written memory was an outstanding exception. There was almost no sex differences of the sample.

Mallory, Sadie A.

1970 Effect of Stimulus Presentation on Free Recall of Reflective and Impulsive Mexican-American Children. Journal of Psychology 76:193-198. Identified 19 reflective and 19 impulsive second grade Mexican-Americans by the Matching Familiar Figures Test. One-half of each group was presented auditorily or audiotactually a twelve-word noun list. Free recall was significantly better for clustering and total words for audiotactual reception. Reflectivity and impulsivity did not influence free recall responses. AA

Martin, William A.

1969 Word Fluency: A Comparative Study. *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 114:253-262. A slightly adapted version of Thurston's word fluency test was administered to several groups of Maori and European high school children (n=143). It was found that the Maori had a significantly higher word fluency (Factor w) than their European counterparts; that the female pupils had, on the average, higher word fluency scores than males, and that the racial differences revealed that this held true within sex, as well as urban and rural categories. This Maori superiority could not be explained in terms of intelligence, sample selection bias, or verbal ability, nor could it be attributed to their greater age alone. Some evidence was found which suggested that this word fluency superiority derived from a definite intellectual ability.

Masland, R. L., S. B. Sarason, and T. Gladwin

1958 Mental Subnormality: Biological, Psychological and Cultural Factors. New York: Basic Books.

Miller, G. A.

1962 Psychology: The Science of Mental Life. New York: Harper & Row

Myambo, Kathleen

1972 Shape Constancy as Influenced by Culture, Western Education, and Age. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:221.

Shape constancy responses, obtained by asking Ss to match the shape of an inclined circular test object with one of a series of comparison ellipses, were obtained for adult groups of educated Senas, uneducated

Senas, and educated Europeans, as well as for uneducated Mang'anja children between the ages of 5 and 15 years and Mang'anja adults. The uneducated African Ss tended to respond to the true shape of the objects regardless of age while the European Ss tended to respond to the retinal image shape; the educated Africans gave responses which were intermediate between those of the uneducated Africans and the educated Europeans. The differences between African Ss and European Ss on shape matching responses were believed to be due to cultural influences, but it could not be determined by the present shape matching method whether the response differences were due to differential responding to the instruction by the cultural groups or to differences in perception.

Noesjirwan, Jennifer

1970 Attitudes to Learning of the Asian Student Studying in the West.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. 1:393

An hypothesis that the Asian student has an attitude to learning that is markedly different from his Western counterpart is presented. He is more dependent on authority, less able to think independently, and more dependent on memorization. Such an attitude is an impediment to successful academic performance in a Western university. A questionnaire measuring various aspects of this attitude was administered to a group of Asian students and to a similar group of Australian students. The items were subjects to a components analysis and three factors were extracted. The first two factors described the attitudes as hypothesized,

and both significantly discriminated Asian from Australian groups. The First Factor was found to predict academic performance for the Asian group to a significant extent.

Nurcombe, B.

1970a Deprivation: An Essay in Deprivation with Special Reference to Australian Aborigines. Medical Journal of Australia. 2:87-92.

1970b Precausal and Paracausal Thinking. Concepts of Causality in Aboriginal Children. Australia and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry 4:70-81.

Otaala, B.

1971 The Development of Operational Thinking in Primary School Children: An Examination of Some Aspects of Piaget's Theory among the Iteso Children of Uganda. Ph.D. Thesis, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Pande, C. G.

1970 Sex Differences in Field Dependence: Confirmation with Indian Sample. Perceptual & Motor Skills 31:70.

Administered H. A. Witkin's colored Embedded-Figures Test (EFT) to 70 male and 70 female undergraduates to find whether sex difference in field-dependence, observed earlier, also exists for an Indian sample. Women were found to be significantly more field-dependent than men as found in earlier investigations with American and Western European samples. Some differences from Witkin's original results are demonstrated. Ss' consistency throughout the trials of EFT and its reliability as a measure of field-dependence are noted. AA

Peluffo, N.

1967 Culture and Cognitive Problems. International Journal of Psychology
2:187-198.

Pomerantz, Norman E.

1971 An Investigation of the Relationship Between Intelligence and

Reading Achievement for Various Samples of Bilingual Spanish-Speaking
Children. Ed.D. dissertation, New Mexico State University.

Problem: The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship
between intelligence scores [performance on the California Test of
Mental Maturity (CTMM)] and reading achievement scores for various
samples of bilingual Spanish-speaking children. This study evaluated
the ability of the CTMM to predict reading achievement scores for
different categories of bilingual third graders. The predictive
validity of the CTMM was investigated in an effort to a) discover the
combination of score yielding the maximum correlation with three
reading achievement scores, and b) determine if the CTMM could
discriminate between achieving and nonachieving readers.

Poole, H. E.

1968 The Effect of Urbanization upon Scientific Concept Attainment among
Hausa children of Northern Nigeria. British Journal of Educational
Psychology: 38:57-63.

Prince, J. R.

1969a Science Concepts in a Pacific Culture. Sydney: Angus & Robertson.

Read, M.

1959 Children of Their Fathers. London: Methuen.

Sankoff, Gillian

1971 Quantitative Analysis of Sharing and Variability in a Cognitive Model. *Ethnology* 10:389

In this article is discussed a general problem in the investigation of cognitive models in ethnology, that of analyzing the diversity of the cognitive models or maps of individual informants, referred to by Aberle (1963) as "cultural ideolects" and by Wallace as "mazeways" in relation to a unified socio-cultural system. The issues raised are: to what extent are cognitive maps shared, which aspects of them are not shared, how do these latter aspects vary from individual, and, in effect, how is intra-cultural diversity organized? The specific data discussed are part of a larger study of the kin group organization and land tenure of the Buang, a mountain people of northeastern New Guinea. This system is characterized by a high degree of variability both in informants' verbal reports of the affiliation of individuals and in their assignment of agricultural plots to kin groups (Buang dgwa). Verbal statements assigning individuals and plots to kin groups vary both among different informants and between reports made by the same informant on different occasions.

Sears, R. R.

1961 Transcultural Variables and Conceptual Equivalence. In *Studying Personality Cross-Culturally*. B. Kaplan, Ed. Evanston, Illinois and New York: Row, Peterson pp. 445-455.

Serpell, Robert

1971 Preference for Specific Orientation of Abstract Shapes among
Zambian Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:225.

Experiment I replicates and extends among Grade 3 and Grade 5 urban Zambian schoolchildren findings obtained by Ghent (1961) among U.S.A. pre-school children. The Ss showed consistent preferences for specific orientations of abstract, geometrical shapes, including some of the designs used in the Bender-Gestalt and Koh's Block tests. Three hypothetical determinants of these preferences are discussed: 1) "location of focal part," 2) "stability," and 3) "familiarity." Experiment II attempts to assess directly the relative importance of 1) and 3) as well as to examine age-trends among rural and urban Zambian schoolchildren and urban "Western-educated" expatriate children. In both experiments, only limited support was found for the "familiarity" hypothesis. It is concluded that intrinsic perceptual features of abstract shapes give rise, independently of cultural background, to consistent preferences for certain specific spatial orientations of those shapes. A tentative theoretical integration of this phenomenon is made with other results showing cross-cultural differences in the difficulty of copying orientation.

Tyler, S.

1969 *Cognitive Anthropology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

A collection of articles from the 50's and 60's.

Welsh, George S.

1969 Preferences for Basic Geometric Shapes by American and Egyptian Subjects. *International Journal of Symbolology* 1:58-66.

The Welsh Figure Preference Test was used to determine whether there is consistent order of preference for five basic geometric shapes: circle, triangle, square, pentagon, and Greek cross. Results were obtained for fourteen groups of American Ss and sixteen groups of Egyptian students. It was found "that the Egyptian and the American orders of preference differ only for the cross and the circle which are either first or second for both culutral samples." The remaining shapes fall in the order triangle, pentagon, square and in this sense is an order of preference common to American and Egyptians. Some minor inconsistencies appear when individual group orders are examined. Cultural explanations of the results are held to be inadequate and it is suggested "that the symbology of geometric shapes may be approached through the psychology of individual personality." JA

APPENDIX B: SELECTED ADDITIONAL SOURCES AND ANNOTATIONS SOCIALIZATION

Barron, Frank and Harben Boutourline Young

1970 Personal Values and Political Affiliation Within Italy. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:335.

The philosophy of life of 82 young Italian males was analyzed in relation to their preferences in politics. The political spectrum from Right to Left was identified by the following continuum of party affiliation: Fascist Monarchist, Liberal Christian Democratic, Socialist, Communist, Popular Front Socialist. Statements in a questionnaire organized around personal and social philosophy were then correlated with positions of the young men on this continuum. The results showed clearly that the influence of the Catholic Church in matters of custom and morality is an important source of divisiveness in Italian political life. The Left splits sharply from Center and Right on matters having to do with divorce and sexual freedom, the Center is less exclusively determined by dogma but still is clearly orthodox and conservative, while the Right is dominated by its hatred of Communism and its emphasis on formalism and central authority.

Batt, Carl E.

1969 Mexican Character: An Adlerian Interpretation. *Journal of Individual Psychology* 25:183-201.

An "ideal type" is offered including a discussion of the socio-cultural situation, cult of manliness, woman's role, and childhood situation. JA

Berrien, F. Kenneth

1969 Familiarity, Mirror Imaging and Social Desirability in Stereotypes:

Japanese Vs. Americans. *International Journal of Psychology* 4:207-215.

240 males and 240 females constituting Japanese and Hawaiian samples were compared with 225 males and 118 females from the United States on judgments of national groups based upon items from the EPPS. Even with social desirability partialled out, Japanese see Americans as more contrasting with themselves than appears for American Ss who compare themselves with Japanese. The Hawaiian sample falls in between the other samples. Data suggest that the strain-toward-consistency theories, derived largely from Western cultures, may not be applicable to Oriental respondents. "Further analyses of cognitive mechanisms in various cultures may lead to important revision in these theories and may also have a bearing on international bargaining styles." JA

Bhalla, Salma, and Castellano, Turner

1971 A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Interpersonal Schemas. *Proceedings*

of the Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association

6:355-356. Investigated differences in interpersonal schemas

(cognitive interpersonal plan) among individuals coming from 2 very

different cultures (those of India and the United States). The focus

was on 2 particular interpersonal schemas, the superior-subordinate

relationship and the heterosexual relationship. After pointing out

the major differences between the 2 cultures with regard to these

relationship, it was hypothesized that Indians would show more distant

interpersonal schemas than Americans on superior-subordinate and heterosexual placements. These hypotheses were supported, and the results were interpreted in terms of cultural variations leading to schemas. AA

Blane, Howard T., and Kazuo Yamamoto

1970 Sexual Role Identity Among Japanese and Japanese-American High School Students. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:345.

Sexual role identity was investigated by administering short forms of the Gough (CPI) femininity scale and the Franck Drawing Completion Test to 369 Japanese-American and Caucasian-American high school students in Hawaii and to 93 students in Japan. Across sex, Japanese were more feminine on both measures than either American group; within the American group, Japanese-Americans were more feminine than Caucasian-Americans on the Gough measure, but did not differ from them on the Franck. Sex-by-ethnicity results showed that males followed the ethnic pattern on both measures, whereas Japanese females were less feminine on the Gough than Japanese-American females and were equal to Caucasian-American females. Higher femininity of Japanese males may be understood as reflecting an Oriental factor of greater femininity related to definitional models of masculinity common to the East, in contrast to Western proof-of-masculinity models. Lower femininity of Japanese women may result from shifting conceptions of femininity in Japan and the East generally, while higher femininity among Japanese-American females may be a subcultural expression related to the history and origins of Japanese in Hawaii.

Blount, Ben G.

1971 Socialization and Pre-linguistic Development Among the Luo of Kenya.

Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 27:41.

The pre-linguistic period of child development, the period during which the child's vocalization is devoid of linguistic meaning, is customarily divided into a cooing and babbling stage. Furthermore, the vocalizations are considered to be conditioned by biological and physiological, but not by social factors. A study of interaction between Luo adults and infants shows, however, that the interactional framework changes as the children progress in their phonative skills and that the alteration facilitates the linguistic and social development of the children. Luo adults key on the children's ability to interact vocally, reducing the complexity of linguistic input initially and then increasing it gradually as the children gain competence.

Bowden, Edgar

1973 Further Implications of Cultural Surgency and Sex-Dominance.

American Anthropologist 75:176.

In the process of standardizing an index of Sociocultural Development, it was found that male-dominant and equidominant societies differ significantly in their order of acquisition of developmental traits, their cultural elaboration and cultural surgency, the population of their largest settlements and possibly also its population density. These relationships are discussed in terms of the theoretical meaning of sex-dominance and cultural surgency and their dynamic significance for social change.

Brown, Judith

1971 The Cure and Feeding of Windigos: A Critique. *American Anthropologist* 73:20.

This paper suggests that, contrary to a view recently expressed, the usual treatment of windigo psychosis is not nutritional in nature. When ingestion is involved (which is rare) its sequel (vomiting to expel the windigo heart of ice) is given more curative importance, challenging the view that the northern Algonquins somehow "grasped" the idea of a nutritive cure for windigos. Nor is evidence at this point clear on nutritional cause of windigo.

Brown, Judith H.

1973 The Subsistence Activities of Women and the Socialization of Children. *Ethos* 1:413.

Task: To present a cross-cultural view of the relationship between the role of women in the subsistence activities of non-industrialized societies and socialization practices as it appears to apply to the research concerning maternal employment in our society.

Methods: Relevant literature, mostly Whiting's writings from the six culture study. The non-western cultures which are compared to this society are the Rajputs of Khalapur, Kwoman, !Kung bushmen, and the Nsaw. Findings: 1) The employment of mothers of young children is as much a vehicle for social change as it is the produce of such change. Employed mothers appear to rear children who are less egoistic and who do not fit the self-assertive, achieving mold. The

question is no longer whether maternal employment is good or bad for children, but how the society can absorb the less egoistic progeny of employed mothers.

Alternative 2) Women's vocational choices could be broadened to the less "helpful" professions, their work could be seen as important to their self-realization and not merely as a way of helping the family. Were these changes to occur and were they communicated to children, employed mothers would present an egoistic model.

Burton, Roger V.

1973 Folk Theory and the Incest Taboo. *Ethos* 4:504.

Hypothesis: Incest taboo arose from a direct awareness by primordial humans of the deleterious effects of familial inbreeding.

Data: From the detrimental effects or consanguineous marriages support the possibility of this more parsimonious theory. Consideration was also given to the possibility that the same complex social custom could arise under different conditions and that it might be necessary to consider more than a single hypothesis to account for the total occurrence of such a custom. These alternative hypotheses seemed insufficient to account for the establishment of a taboo, but were seen as contributing to the conditions necessary for the dramatically visible deleterious effects of intrafamilial breeding to be expressed.

Carlesmith, Lyn

1973 Some Personality Characteristics of Boys Separated from Their Fathers During World War II. *Ethos* 1:466.

Purpose: A comparison between aptitudes, interests, and other personality characteristics of boys whose fathers were absent during world war II with boys whose fathers were not absent.

Sample: 40 (20 of each group) students in the Harvard class of 1964.

Method: Individual session lasting two hours, conducted by a single female experimenter: test in this order: Terman-Miles test, semantic differential, interview, strong vocational interest test. The directions for all tests simple and straight forward; a brief description of each test is presented, along with the results in the following sections.

Results: 1) Feminine cognitive styles whose fathers were absent. 2) More of the traits and interests typically associated with the female role in our culture than are boys who were not separated from their fathers. 3) Boys raised in stable middle class American families which apparently value intellectual and academic pursuits are able to find satisfying and socially approved modes of behavior that do not require an overtly masculine sex-role identity. The father absent boys in this sample appear to be generally content with their present role identity and manifest no symptoms of conflict or anxiety concerning it. It should be recalled that the father absent students have a weaker evaluation of adult men, project their own ideal self closer to women, and are more reticent to enter the adult professional world than are the father present students.

Chartier, George M., and Norman D. Suadberg

1969 Commonality of Word Listing, Predictability, and Chunking: An Analysis of American and Indian Ninth Graders. *International Journal of Psychology* 4:195-205.

Indian Ss of varied socioeconomic status from 3 communities in northern India manifested significantly greater variability in word-naming commonality than appeared among American Ss. This finding runs counter to the conception of American individuality as opposed to Indian group orientation. American Ss mentioned significantly more children than adults in a word-naming task, while the reverse held true for Indian Ss. This finding supports the interpretation of greater peer orientation among Americans than among Indians. Girls in American but not Indian groups gave more identical words than did boys. No relationships appeared between commonality, predictability, and originality. Further study could cast light upon which aspects of language or environment or both produce the marked similarities between cultural groups. JA

Choungourian, A.

1970 Lebanese and American Aspects of Personality: A Cross-Cultural Comparison. *Journal of Social Psychology* 81:117-118.

Examined differences between the behavior tendencies of Lebanese and American student samples with respect to 6 aspects of personality: orality, anality, sexuality, aggression, independence, and achievement. The mean scale scores for self-descriptive statements on an always-never continuum indicated that on the whole the Americans show greater

total orality and sexuality than the Lebanese, while the Lebanese exhibit more total aggression than Americans. Cross- and same-sex differences within and across the 2 cultures were also found. AA

Díaz-Guerrero, Rogelio

1971 The Teaching of Research in Psychology in Latin America: A Paradigm.

Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología 3:5-36.

The teaching to research in psychology in Latin America is not a simple technical problem. The lack of tradition of research, the absence of economic backing, the flood of ready-made conceptions and operationally defined tools from the industrialized countries pose unique questions. A paradigm is described which has thus far proved successful in teaching research attitudes and practices in Mexican students. The model is a large cross-cultural research program in which students become aware of both techniques and the cultural differences that their local populations have vis-a-vis samples of another culture. Cross-cultural research is described as an excellent model, for it forces the realization of the large number of variable that intervene in human behavior. JA

Eckhardt, Kenneth W.

1971 Exchange Theory and Sexual Permissiveness. Behavior Science Notes

6:1.

An exchange theory of social behavior is advanced to explain intersocietal differences in sex codes. An examination of 153 societies drawn from Murdock's World Ethnographic Sample (1957) and from the

HRAF-Micro- files indicates modest support for the thesis that the location of power and resources as they influence social interaction and exchange are contributory forces in accounting for the level of sexual permissiveness found in society.

Elsarrag, M. E.

1968 Psychiatry in the Northern Sudan: A Study in Comparative Psychiatry.

British Journal of Psychiatry 114:945-948.

Compared Northern Sudanese psychiatry to British psychiatry.

Differences are emphasized, attributing these to differences in cultural patterns. The hypotheses given to account for the differences cited are in need of further research and verification. JA

Faris, James C.

1969 Sibling Terminology and Cross-Sex Behavior: Data from the Southeastern

Nuba Mountains. American Anthropologist 71:482.

Contrary to certain of the assumptions of Nerlove and Romney (1967) on sibling terminology and cross-sex behavior, the sibling terminology of the Southeastern Nuba manifests a primary sex-of-speaker component and is shown to be conjunctive. Other data appear to weigh against their functional hypothesis for the cross-parallel distinction in sibling terminology but support a general conclusion that there may be different levels of explanation in kinship usage and that attention should be paid to cultural conceptions of cross-sex relations.

Garibay Patron, Miguel

1969 Psychology of the Mexicans. *Revista Mexicana de Psicología* 3:350-354.

Psychologists doing research in Mexico should be aware of the 2 specific cultural aspects of Mexico which reflect personality differences peculiar to Mexico as compared with the typical cultural values in the United States. The 1st characteristic considered and discussed is "Machismo," defined as a type of inferiority complex. This shows up in bravado, alcoholism, and women-chasing behavior as characteristic of the typical Mexican male. The 2nd cultural characteristic is that of the self-denying Mexican women. A Mexican woman is expected to be completely submissive to a man or the men in her life.

Gordon, C. Paul, and Ronald Gallimore

1972 Teacher Ratings of Behavior Problems of Hawaiian-American Adolescents.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology. 3:209.

Teachers in rural Hawaii completed the Behavior Problem Checklist for 196 Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian students. Two factors were extracted, reflecting disruptiveness and passive withdrawal. Similar studies in the United States have typically reported three factors; the two obtained in the Hawaii study, and an immaturity-inadequacy factor. Failure to find the latter factor was attributed to the cross-cultural nature of the situation. The results were interpreted to indicate that behavior problems reported by teachers vary little from situation to situation and culture to culture, due to the stimulus conditions inherent in the typical school situation.

Gorzowska, Krystyna

1969 Changes in Children's Attitudes to Other Nationalities as Elected by Participation in the Malta Camp. *Przeglad Psychologiczny* 17:29-46. Investigated by questionnaire and projective techniques changes in attitude of 435 12-17 year old Polish children to children of other nationalities during an International scouting encampment. Both positive and negative changes were found in 50% of the Ss, with the number of negative changes being slightly higher. Results showed that a) prolonged, organized contact appeared to reduce prejudices, while short sporadic contact strengthened them; b) negative attitudes may be more easily changed when not accompanied by negative evaluations of the characteristics of a given nationality; c) direct contact exerted a greater influence on opinions than on emotional attitudes.

Granzberg, Gary

1973 Twin Infanticide - A Cross-Cultural Test of a Materialistic Explanation.

Ethos 1:405.

Hypothesis: Twin infanticide is found in societies that provide insufficient facilities for a mother to properly rear two children at once while at the same time fulfilling her other responsibilities.

Method: 1) Human Relations Area Files. (A slight overrepresentation of new world and African societies in the sample, and a maximum amount of linguistic and geographic separation has not always been attained).

The Independent Variable: 1) The amount of help available to mothers as inferred from a) settlement pattern size, b) family size, 2) The degree to which mothers are free from work as measured by a) the extent to which she is free from subsistence production duties, b) the extent to which she is free from time-consuming child care tasks such as breast feeding the child and carrying it around with her, even when it is asleep.

Summary Score: The score for each society was obtained by summing the scores on each variable.

The Dependent Variable: A reliability check by an independent judge on one-third of the sample showed 95% agreement with the author's ratings.

Results: Infanticide is caused by ecological factors. Contrary to the common practice of treating infanticide as one monolithic institution, this study supports work by Whiting (1964), which shows that infanticide is not a homogenous phenomenon consisting of different practices, each aimed at solving different problems in society.

Hare, A. Paul, and Dean Peaboyd

1971 Attitude Content and Agreement Set in Autonomy-Authoritarianism

Items for United States, African, and Philippine University Students.

Journal of Social Psychology 83:23-31.

Used cross-cultural data, including sets of autonomy and authoritarian items, to reexamine the importance of attitude content and agreement set in such items. Consistent results in this and other studies--the

means, variability, reliability, and correlations for the 2 types of items--suggest that content and set are normally both important components of the scores. External correlates of such scales may relate to either content or set. The social background characteristics of these cross-cultural samples seem more related to content. JA

Hay, Thomas H.

1968 Ojibwa Emotional Restraint and the Socialization Process. Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University.

This study focuses on the motivation of the extreme restraint characteristic of the typical Ojibwa Indian and on the learning process through which motivation for this restraint is developed. Hypotheses derived from two different theories of the motivation of the restraint and from two different theories of the development of extreme restraint are tested in this study. One of the theories of the motivation of restraint traces this restraint to an exaggerated fear of retaliation for openly aggressive behavior. The other theory traces restraint to an exaggerated fear of doing serious injury to others by openly aggressive behavior. The data to test the hypotheses derived from these theories was gathered through observations of the interaction of adults and children in nine Ojibwa households at Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin and four Ojibwa households at Berens River, Manitoba. These households cannot be taken to be representative of the populations at either place. The sample is definitely biased toward the more culturally conservative families. The number of

observations recorded was sufficient to permit tests (with the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test of goodness of fit) for twenty-nine adults of the hypothesis derived from the motivational theories. The binomial test of goodness of fit was used to test the learning hypotheses for thirty-two children. The theory that Ojibwa restraint is motivated by fear of retaliation is not supported by the data. It implies that Ojibwa adults should punish offending children with high relative frequency. This hypothesis could be rejected at the .01 level for twenty-seven of twenty-nine adults. The theory that Ojibwa restraint is motivated by fear of doing serious injury to others is neither clearly supported nor contradicted by the data. There is, however, reason to believe that minor modifications of this theory would lead to deduction consistent with that data. The theory that fear of retaliation is learned through punishment in childhood is unsupported by the data--as might be expected from the results for the theory that restraint is motivated by fear of retaliation. Finally, the theory that exaggerated fear of injuring others is due to parental acquiescence in the offensive behavior of children can be rejected for only two of thirty-two children.

Hay, Thomas J.

1971 The Windigo Psychosis. Psychodynamic Cultural and Social Factors in Aberrant Behavior. *American Anthropologist* 73:1.

Although windigo cannibalism is unique to the northern Algonquins, the psychodynamic factors which produce it are general. The differential occurrence of the disorder is explained in terms of the northern Algonquin emphasis on following inner promptings, the absence of cultural alternatives, and in terms of the nature of interaction in the particular bands for which cannibalism was reported.

Hsu, Francis L. K.

1971 Psychological Homeostasis and Jen: Conceptual Tools for Advancing Psychological Anthropology. *American Anthropologist* 73:1.

Personality is a Western concept rooted in individualism. The basic importance accorded it in psychological anthropology has obscured our understanding of how Western man lives in Western society and culture, or how any man lives in any society and culture. What is missing is the central ingredient in the human mode of existence: man's relationship with his fellow man. The concepts of psycho-social homeostasis and jen are designed to extricate our subdiscipline from this intellectual prison. The first describes the process whereby every human individual tends to seek certain kinds of affective involvement with some of his fellow humans. The second refers to the internal and external limits of the individual's affective involvement. With the aid of five major hypotheses based on these concepts, a review is made in a new light of familiar facts drawn from China, the United States and Japan.

Jackson, Gary B., and A. Kimball Romney

1973 Historical Inference from Cross-Cultural Data: The Case of Dowry. *Ethos* 1:517.

Purpose: To show that dowry is a relatively recent cultural pattern and second, to show that the existence of dowry is dependent on a complex level of cultural development.

Data: From Murdock's world ethnographic sample of 565 cultures.

Arguments: 1) the geographical distribution of dowry is restricted in area indicating recent development. 2) dowry is dependent upon a high level of cultural complexity; that is, cultural complexity is a necessary though not sufficient condition for the appearance of the practice of dowry.

Findings: Through statistics, 1) dowry is found in only two of the six major geographical regions. Seventy-five percent of all cases are located within the circum-Mediterranean area. 2) 21 out of 24 societies fit the assumption that cultural evolution moves from simple forms to more complex structures involving higher levels of political integration and technology. 3) we use bride price as a control case. If it is a more ancient trait than dowry, then we would expect to see it more evenly distributed. 4) No correlations with high levels of political integration.

Johnstone, John W. C.

1970 Age-Grade Consciousness. *Sociology of Education* 43:56.

Studies of generational phenomena have not paid sufficient attention to the distinction between cohort and kinship aspects of generations.

Using empirical measures of class consciousness as a model, consciousness of kind based on age is measured and related to theoretically relevant determinants and consequences. Age-grade consciousness is found among a sample of architecture students to be positively linked with familial value conflict and negatively linked with commitment to becoming a professional architect. A path model is presented to interpret the relationships.

Kiefer, Christie, W.

1970 The Psychological Interdependence of Family, School and Bureaucracy in Japan. *American Anthropologist* 72:66.

The Japanese "examination hell" phenomenon is viewed as a series of crisis rites through which the child passes from family-centered to peer group-centered values in a "particularistic" society. It is held that this model has greater explanatory power than the "minimization of competition" model proposed by others and that it also helps to explain the phenomenon of student radicalism and centrifugal relationships in middle-class communities.

Kilbridge, Janet E., Michael C. Robbins, and Philip L. Kilbridge

1970 The Comparative Motor Development of Baganda, American White, and American Black Infants. *American Anthropologist* 72:1422.

Baganda infants in Uganda were found to be significantly advanced in motor development during the first year of life when compared with Bayley's sample of American white and black infants. Though they were not found to be as precocious as Geber's sample of Uganda infants, the same downward trend in degree of motor development during the second

year of life was found. As age increased, developmental motor quotient (DMQ) decreased, but at 24 months of age the Baganda infants still obtained an average DMQ higher than either American sample. Several interpretations of these results are considered.

Krauss, Herbert H.

1970 Social Development and Suicide. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:159-167.

Studied 58 societies to test the relationship between societal complexity and frequency of suicide. Suicide frequency was highest in the medium complexity cultures and lowest in the low complexity cultures. The highly complex cultures were divided between high and low suicide rates. "It is suggested that this result may eventually be understood in terms of the way in which societies bind their members into patterned social relations." JA

Legesse, Asmarom

1973 The Controlled Cross-Cultural Test. *Ethos* 1:521.

Purpose: To examine the usefulness of the matching technique in assembling cross-cultural samples. The essential feature of the procedure proposed here is that the sample of cases consists of two segments: an experimental samples and a control sample.

Hypothesis: The same problem might be resolved by allowing early marriage, but, at the same time, any children born to the "immature" parents must either be abandoned to die or they must be given up for adoption by members of the appropriate generation.

Sample: The samples of societies used in the early history of cross-cultural research consisted of cultures ranging from haunting and gathering bands to complex nation areas. This in part was necessitated by the limited size of the human relations area files. To assemble a statistically viable sample it was necessary to use a very heterogeneous group of societies. The procedure was criticized by the more particularistic brand of ethnographers who preferred to carry out comparative analyses on a spatially, typologically, or typically limited scale.

Lem, S.

1969. A Model of Culture. *Voprosy Filosofii* 23:49-62.

Culture is viewed in terms of a "system of games." Within this context, the problems of "cultural codes" and "culture as a meta-game" are considered, and a "model of culture" is proposed. JA

Lester, David

1970 Adolescent Suicide and Premarital Sexual Behavior. *Journal of Social Psychology* 82:131-132.

C. Kluckhohn's suggestion that adolescent suicide would occur more in societies where premarital sexual expression was severely punished was tested on a sample of 40 monliterate societies. The hypothesis was not confirmed. AA

Lester, David

1971 Suicide and Homicide Rates and the Society's Need for Affiliation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:405.

Rudin (1968) correlated two clusters: murder, suicide and alcoholism formed one and ulcers and hypertension formed the second. Rudin felt that these two groups of causes of death reflected the operation of aggressiveness in the societies: deaths due to aggressiveness or acting-out and deaths due to inhibition of aggression. Thus, Rudin predicted that the societal need to achieve (as assessed from children's tales in the society) would correlate with deaths from inhibition of aggression whereas the societal need for power would correlate with deaths from aggressiveness. The data from a sample of developed nations only partially supporting his hypotheses, and Lester (1968) obtained identical results from a study of primitive societies and national motives assessed from folk tales. Need achievement (n Ach) was unrelated both to the suicide and the homicide rate while n Pow was significantly related only to the suicide rate.

Levin, Joseph, and Eliezer S. Karni

1971 A Comparative Study of the CPI Femininity Scale: Validation in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:387.

The 38-item Femininity Scale of the California Psychological Inventory has validly differentiated between males and females in seven countries, and the extension of these findings to other countries would help yield an instrument for further cross-cultural studies. A Hebrew translation of the scale was administered to a random sample of the Israeli population, consisting of 200 males and 200 females. The means were 16.36 and 22.02 respectively and the difference of 5.66 is highly

significant (p. .001). All the items, except one, differentiated in the proper direction, though several items showed low discriminating power. The validity of Fe in Israel is one of the highest among the countries for which studies are available, and is next to the results obtained in the U.S.A.

LeVine, Robert A

1973 Patterns of Personality in Africa. *Ethos* 2:123.

This article is an attempt by a psychological anthropologist to extract from his experience of Africans preliminary answers to general questions that specialists rarely consider but "cannot afford to ignore": Are the distinctively African patterns of personality existing now? What differences are there in behavior and personality between Africans and Westerners? How do personality characteristics of Africans affect their social adaptation to changing conditions?

Levy, Robert

1973 The Tahitians. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McKissack, Ian J.

1971 Conformity in Ghana. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 10:87.

Discusses studies of African cultural patterns in which certain behavior measures of social processes should show cross-cultural variations. The testing of 26 Ghanaian college students is described and compared to other studies which consider the influence of social pressure on African Ss that is exerted in face-to-face interaction situations.

Margetts, Edward L.

1968 African Ethnopsychiatry in the Field. Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal 13:521-538.

Discusses the need for a more intensified approach to psychiatry in Africa, emphasizing the interdependence of anthropology, psychology, and psychiatry in primitive African cultures. 2 kinds of field ethnopsychiatry which could be applied in Africa are described: clinically and research oriented. The phenomena which should be investigated by a psychiatrist working in the African field include: the normal and the abnormal person (both according to local African standards); conceptions of magic; practitioners of magic or ritual experts; social hierarchy; religion; birth and child rearing; genital customs; education; death and burial customs; dreams and other symbolism; demonology; secret societies; politics; suicide, murder, and cannibalism; justice; alcohol and drugs; sex habits; stories and myths; dances and music; art; and artifacts. JA

Meadow, Arnold, and Louise Bronson

1969 Religious Affiliation and Psychopathology in a Mexican American Population. Journal of Abnormal Psychology 74:117-180.

Studies 54 Protestant and 54 Catholic Mexican-American Ss of similar levels of acculturation, education, and socioeconomic background. Evaluations of psychopathology were derived from the L-R sections of the Cornell Medical Index and behavioral observations. The lower rate of pathological responses by Protestant Ss was attributed to

the social support offered by the small, intimate congregations with their strong, paternal leadership and the Protestant doctrines of asceticism and individual responsibility which contribute to impulse control. JA

Mehta, Perin H., Pritim K. Rohila, Norman D. Sundberg, and Leona E. Tyler

1972 Future Time Perspectives of Adolescents in India and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:293.

A review of event-listing research suggests that longer time perspective is associated with more favorable characteristics including higher socio-economic level. The major samples consisted of approximately 100 boys and 80 girls each in ninth grades in small towns in India and America. They did not show significant differences on median time attributed to seven expected life events, though Indian boys showed greater diversity. In smaller samples in large cities, high socio-economic groups had longer time spans, but again nationality and sex differences did not appear. Content analysis showed a greater American emphasis on leisure and one's own courtship, marriage, and children, while a greater Indian emphasis was placed on other's courtship, marriage, and children, other's deaths and health.

Merelman, Richard M.

1972 The Adolescence of Political Socialization. *Sociology of Education* 45:35.

This article assesses political socialization research in terms of its theoretical adequacy, descriptive findings, and methodology.

Research in political socialization has uncovered much about the substance of childhood and adolescent political orientations and also has managed to link some agencies of socialization reliability to particular political attitudes. Major deficiencies include the lack of attention to socialization as a process, the divorce from useful psychological and social theory, and the reliance on restrictive and inadequate methodologies. However, if care is taken research in political socialization can aid educators in the design of curricula and teaching practices.

Meyer, A.

1968 Superstition and Magic in the Caribbean: Some Psychiatric

Consequences: Preliminary Investigation. Psychiatric, Neurologia, Neurochirurgia 71:421-434.

Present examples of magical and superstitious beliefs in the Caribbean area. The similarity of these beliefs in these culturally, linguistically and socioeconomically often so different territories is striking. Magic and superstition influence, in a far higher degree than is mostly assumed, not only inter-human relations but the thought-content and behavior pattern of the individual as well. They form a psychic disposition that could be described as compulsive paranoid. An attempt is made to propose a theory which could explain the extremely high incidence of paranoid reactions among psychotics as a result of these superstitious beliefs; however, it is concluded that further exploration in this field and especially of its impact on mental health, is prerequisite. JA

Miller, Stephen

1973 Ends, Means, and Galumphing: Some Leitmotifs of Play. *American Anthropologist* 75:87.

Two main questions are asked here about play. 1) Is it really a coherent category of activity in spite of the diversity of forms it takes in man and animals? 2) Does it make sense in terms of the evolution of behavior that play should have become so ubiquitous among our activities? These questions are approached by looking at play as a way of orchestrating the ends and means of action in which the means are the center of interest, in which the economics of survival are subordinated to combinatorial flexibility.

Modan, B., I. Nissenkorn, and S. R. Lewkowski

1970 Suicide in a Heterogeneous Society. *British Journal of Psychiatry* 116:65-68.

Jewish suicides have shown an annual rate of 11.8/100,000 population, with incidence rising in males to age 35 vs. a steady age rise with females. European-born show the highest rates, and methods are, as usual, sex-specific. A striking phenomenon is the high incidence of death by burning in females of African-Asian or Arab origin. Suicide peaks on Sunday which is the equivalent of the Western Monday. JA

Munroe, Robert L., and Ruth H. Munroe

1972 Obedience among Children in an East African Society. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:395.

Among the world's culture areas, African societies are rated the highest in socialization for compliance. The Kikuyu, a group with typically high compliance training, were tested experimentally for obedience. Eighteen children between five and nine year of age were given two tasks by their own mothers and the same two tasks by another child's mother. Overall obedience was very high, with ten children obeying fully on all tasks. The strongest contrast with previous findings was that, unlike American children, Kikuyu children did not disobey their own mothers more than another child's mother. The strong compliance emphasis was tentatively argued to be a concomitant of the child's participation in the household's economic activities.

Murray, John B.

1968 Learning in Homosexuality. Psychological Reports 23:659-662.

Distinguishing between sex in the biological sense and sex-role or sex-identity as a reflection of culture allows for research of psychology and psychiatrists on the subtle influences of learning in homosexuality. JA

Naroll, Raoull

1970 What Have We Learned from Cross-Cultural Surveys: American Anthropologist 72:6.

This is a review of cross-cultural surveys. The tasks and problems of such surveys are reviewed and a system of evaluating their validity is presented. Surveys of kinship have shown their validity of a

developmental pattern in residence rules, descent rules and kin terms; much has been learned about kin avoidance and much suggested about inheritance, marriage and divorce patterns. Surveys of cultural evolution have established the validity of seven major elements of cultural evolution and firmly linked these to archeological findings; evolutionary links to several aspects of life style have also been shown or suggested. Many surveys have shown relationships between child training and adult behavior and between social settings and antisocial behavior, but the nature of the linkages remains largely unsettled. Unresolved too are most conflicts between rival modes of explanation of functional conundrums, such as puberty rites and unilateral cross-cousin marriage. Factor analysis of large trait matrices have shown the importance of at least five major factors.

Newton, Niles

1970 The Effect of Psychological Environment on Childbirth: Combined Cross-Cultural and Experimental Approach. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:85.

A cross-cultural survey of birth patterning revealed marked differences in the speed of labor and indicated extreme variations in the psychological environment during labor and delivery. Speedier, easier labors appear to be related to acceptance of birth as a normal physiologic phenomena uncomplicated by sexual shame or fear-inducing rituals. The hypotheses development from cross-cultural surveys were then tests experimentally in mice. Disturbance applied during labor

resulted in reduction of labor speed immediately after the disturbance. Mice continuously disturbed at term delivered first pups significantly later, and had a 54% higher pup mortality rate. When expectant mice were rotated between familiar environment with shelter and glass fish bowl imbued with cat odor, spending equal amounts of time in each, significantly fewer births took place in the later.

Pelicier, Yves

1968 The Psychology of People and Psychiatry. *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples* 23:298-302.

Proposes that there are ethnocultural stereotypes in the expression of various psychiatric disease entities. Suicide is less frequent in Africa, whereas hypochondria is prevalent. In Japan, Indonesia, North Africa, Alaska, and Siberia, there appears to be a prevalence of echolalia, echopraxia, and obsessive-compulsive neurosis. Additional examples of frequent manifestation of particular symptoms in certain cultures are provided. JA

Peterson, Donald R., and Giuseppe Migliorino

1967 The Uses and Limitations of Factor Analysis in Cross-Cultural Research on Socialization. *International Journal of Psychology* 2: 215-220.

Available evidence shows that highly complex multifactorial systems for describing parent and child behavior from culture do not meet the test of statistical invariance and structural stability which must

be satisfied by any adequately general descriptive framework. Limiting the system to small sets of high variance factors yields acceptable stability and conceptual clarity. Effective intercultural comparisons require specific behavioral analysis in addition to factorial study.

Phillips, Beeman N., Roy P. Martin, and Leon Zorman

1971 Factorial Structure of the Children's School Questionnaire in American and Slovenian Samples. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:65.

In the present study, the factorial structure of the Children's School Questionnaire, and differences on common factors, were investigated in samples of American and Slovenian children. The majority of the evidence indicates that the test measures the same major attributes in both samples, with one factor, labeled school anxiety, over-shadowing all the others. In addition, on the five common factors--school anxiety, sex role (2), school aspirations, and feelings of inadequacy in school--nationality, social status, and sex differences were found. Sex differences were generally larger among Slovenian Ss, while social status differences were generally larger among American Ss. Socio-cultural differences between the two nationalities were discussed and these differences were used to account for the major findings, although the "explanations" were more or less hypothetical.

Pretwich, Sheldon G.

1969 The Influence of Two Counseling Methods on the Physical and Verbal Aggression of Pre-School Indian Children. Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University.

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The purpose of this study was to: a) investigate the influence of anthropomorphic models as a therapeutic vehicle to facilitate five year old Indian children in learning to express and appropriately deal with aggressive impulses, and b) investigate the influence of group counseling with Indian mothers as it affects five year old Indian children's aggression.

Raina, T. N., and M. K. Raina

1971 Perception of Teacher-Educators in India about the Ideal Pupil.

Journal of Educational Research 64:303-306.

Attempted to a) determine what concepts teacher-educators in India have of the ideal student in terms of characteristics they believe should be encouraged and discouraged, and b) compare the results with concepts of teachers in the United States. Torrance's Ideal Pupil Checklist was administered to 100 teachers of education in teacher training colleges in Rajasthan. When the 62 characteristics of the Checklist were ranked, a rank-order coefficient of correlation of .76 was obtained between the ranks assigned by the Rajasthan teacher-educators and United States teachers. In general, the Rajasthan ss emphasize the receptive nature of man and deemphasize man's self-acting nature more than United States teachers. JA

Roberts, J. M. and M. L. Forman

1971 Riddles: Expressive Models of Interrogation. Ethnology 10:509.

This article attempts to present a comprehensive theory of riddles and riddling to account for uneven distribution of riddles in time

and space in both cultural-historical and functional terms, for the structure and meaning of riddling patterns, the involvements of these patterns by individuals. Use of Tagalog model for study.

Rohner, Ronald P., Billie R. DeWalt, and Robert C. Nee

1973 Ethnographer Bias in Cross-Cultural Research: An Empirical Study.

Behavior Science Notes 8:275.

We direct attention in this paper to the problem of ethnographer bias (i.e., systematic errors occurring in the ethnographic reporting process) in cross-cultural research, and therefore in ethnographic fieldwork itself. Using multiple regression and other multivariate statistics, we assess the influence of ethnographer bias on the correlation between traits in the cross-cultural survey component of Rohner's Rejection-Acceptance Project (RAP). These procedures suggest a systematic ethnographer error, "the bias of romanticism," in anthropological research. Overall, however, the relationships among substantive variables in this research cannot be explained by this bias or by other forms of systematic error plaguing cross-cultural research. Thus, in the absence of a successful competing theory, we conclude that all but one of the universal causal-functional relationships postulated in Rohner's theory are validated. AA

Rohner, Ronald R., and Leonard Katz

1970 Testing for Validity and Reliability in Cross-Cultural Research.

American Anthropologist 72:1068.

A set of procedures is offered for assessing interrater reliability and certain aspects of validity of codes in cross-cultural studies. The method assumes that at least two independent raters have coded more than one trait coded by a second, and all the codings by a single rater are intercorrelated with each other. The results are presented in a multitrait-multirater matrix. From this matrix it is possible to determine the interrater reliability and discriminant validity of traits in addition to a higher order concept based on pairs of traits.

Rohrl, Vivian J.

1971 A Nutritional Factor in Windigo Psychosis. *American Anthropologist* 73:97.

This paper reviews reports of windigo psychosis, in particular those cases that are "cured" before they are "full-blown," with a view to studying evidence of an organic factor related to the development of illness. Knowledge of biological factors related to ritual behavior in different cultures is reviewed in this context, together with examples of windigo cases and relevant information about nutrition. It is indicated that the traditional "cure" of windigo symptoms, which frequently induces the ingestion of fatty meat, particularly bear meat, indicates a positively reinforced-due to beneficial effect-curing method for this condition. Thus, such an investigation of a widespread way of curing windigo psychosis supplements our analysis of culture with an additional-extracultural-dimension.

Rossi, Inc

1973 The Unconscious in the Anthropology of Claude Levi-Strauss.

American Anthropologist 75:20.

Levi-Strauss claims that the unconscious activity of the mind is more important than the conscious one for understanding social phenomena and that the unconscious consists of an aggregate of forms which are imposed on psychological and physical content. The real inspiration of Levi-Strauss' notion is the Kantian notion of mental constraints and the postulate of isomorphism of mental and physical laws. The methodological usefulness of the unconscious as a principle of intelligibility is placed in evidence. AA

Samuel, T. J.

1966 The Strengthening of the Motivation for Family Limitation in India.

Journal of Family Welfare 13:1-16.

The main factors for low "motivation" for family limitation in India are tradition, religion, and fatalism. Education, economic incentives, and disincentives may be helpful. Some of these are suggested. JA

Schlegel, Alice

1973 The Adolescent Socialization of the Hopi Girl. Ethnology 12:449.

This socio-cultural study seeks to prove that a crisis of adolescence of the Hopi girl, which might be brought about by existing restrictions placed upon her by her mother and the need to find a husband, does not occur to the same extent as in Western culture, nor does the stage of

adolescence lack moodiness, intergenerational conflict, or anxiety over sex and love as in Margaret Mead's Samoan studies. The explanation from this is that there are no conflicting standards or alternative choices leading to dilemmas, and the "crisis" of the Hopi girl is comprehensible within the context of the socialization process.

Shweder, Richard A

1973 The Between and Within of Cross-Cultural Research. *Ethos* 1:531.

Purpose: An analysis of data that indicate a discrepancy between across unit and within unit findings and discusses the possibility that valid cross-cultural variables are intraculturally inappropriate.

Method and Data: The structure of Rorschach test response categories and social behavior in small groups.

Conclusion: By suggesting that under certain conditions cross-cultural and intra-cultural research are not mutually relevant. There are two modes of comparative cultural research: 1) cross-cultural population sample is selected and correlations across this sample of cultures are used to test hypotheses and discover universal dimensions of variations. 2) A comparative intra-cultural replication is performed and the correlations within each of a number of cultures are used to test hypotheses and discover universal dimensions or variation. Reasons other than "problems of measurement" all known cultures may not differ in the same ways. Valid indicators of a theoretical variable may be discovered within any of them, or may be discovered within each of all cultures without being discoverable across them.

Skea, Susan, Juris G. Draguns, and Leslie Phillips

1969 Ethnic Characteristics of Psychiatric Symptomology within and across Regional Groupings: A Study of an Israeli Child Guidance Clinic Population. *Israel Annals of Psychiatry and Related Disciplines* 7:31-42.

Compared discrete manifestations and inclusive categories of symptomatology between socioeconomically and educationally matched groups of boys of Iraqi, Yeminite, German, and Polish parentage in a child guidance clinic. Attempts were also made to compare smaller, unmatched groups of girls. Results reveal differences in psychopathological expression among all the groups. Middle Eastern boys tended toward overtly expressed maladaptive and aggressive behavior, while ideational and self-directed symptomatology predominated among the European boys. Within each of the 2 regions, boys of Iraqi parentage differed from Yeminites in more direct and explicit expression of aggression and boys of Polish extraction exceeded those of German background in avoidance of, and withdrawal from, social contact. Results obtained with girls were not parallel to those observed in boys and need fuller investigation. JA

Sommerlad, Elizabeth A., and W. P. Bellingham

1972 Cooperation-Competition: A Comparison of Australian European and Aboriginal School Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:149. Australian European and full-blood Aboriginal school children were assigned to groups of four individuals who performed a task in which

cooperation maximized and competition minimized reward. The Aboriginal sample showed significantly more cooperative responses than the European sample, with individuals in the stream preparing for secondary education showing more competitive behavior than those continuing post-primary courses emphasizing manual training and domestic science. The role of kinship as a determinant of cooperation was investigated, but Aborigines from the same tribe with reciprocal kinship obligations failed to be more cooperative than those Aborigines from different tribes.

/ Tanaka, Yasumasa

1972 Values in the Subjective Culture: A Social Psychological View.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 3:57.

Using POLDI (a variation of the semantic differential method) as a measuring instrument, evidence was shown that there is the subtle but real cultural uniqueness of evaluative criteria despite the overall consistency in the semantic frame of reference when Japanese and German Ss judged a set of nation concepts. Next, Evaluative Atlases of several critical concepts were constructed on the basis of data collected in 15 language/culture communities by means of multilingual semantic differentials, and comparisons were made among the 15 communities. Finally, a plan of intercultural cooperation was proposed, in that the responsibility of social and behavioral scientists is stressed for both making up and executing plans for the engineering of such intercultural cooperation.

Watson, Lawrence C.

1972 Sexual Socialization in Guajiro Society. *Ethnology* 11:150.

In Guajiro society there is an apparent relationship between severe socialization of female sexual behavior and the demands made on a woman's behavior by the institution of marriage, the success of which has a bearing on the ability of her family to maintain its status in society and to contract useful political alliances. Severe socialization is functionally adapted to these demands because it produces negative fixation in the sexual system, which in turn acts as a psychic monitoring device to discourage the unmarried girl from experimenting sexually and thereby increases the likelihood that she will remain sexually chaste, marry well, and be potentially valuable to her lineage for cementing a political alliance.

Weigert, Andrew J., and Darwin L. Thomas

1970 Socialization and Religiosity: A Cross-National Analysis of Catholic Adolescents. *Sociometry* 33:305-326.

Relates dimensions of religiosity (belief, experience, knowledge, and practice) to adolescents' perception of the control and support received from parents. A total of 740 Ss were chosen from 4 urban male Catholic schools in the United States, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. Except for the Mexican sample and the knowledge dimension, the a priori hypothesis that adolescents perceiving a high (low) degree of control and support score highest (lowest) on religiosity is moderately verified, mainly because

of a positive relationship between support and religiosity, although control is noticeably related in the Puerto Rican sample. For the Anglo samples, the usefulness of socialization variables in understanding religiosity is demonstrated, and the differences across samples point to the importance of reasons for religious behavior. JA Whittaker, James O., and S. J. Whittaker

1972 A Cross-Cultural Study of Geocentrism. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:417.

College students in the United States, Argentina, Fiji, India, and New Zealand were asked to draw a map of the world in 10 minutes, putting in as much detail as possible. Maps were examined for number of countries, and other details. Geocentrism seems to be reflected in the fact that one's own country is almost always disproportionately large, and it also seems to be reflected in the fact that neighboring countries virtually always tend to be drawn on the map.

Wittmer, Joe

1970 Homogeneity of Personality Characteristics: A Comparison between Old Order Amish and Non-Amish. *American Anthropologist* 72:1063.

The purpose of this study was to compare the variability of measured personality characteristics of 25 Amish and 25 non-Amish male youth, between the ages of 18 and 21, from the same community. This study assumed that the homogeneous nature of the Amish culture would predetermine greater similarity of personality among the Amish youth. The findings indicate that the aspect of personality similarity was significantly greater for the Amish group on 9 of 16 measures of personality. The findings were discussed in light of the Amish culture.

APPENDIX C: SELECTED ADDITIONAL SOURCES AND ANNOTATIONS IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Anant, Santokh S.

1970 Self- and Mutual Perception of Salient Personality Traits of Different Caste Groups. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:41.

As part of a project to study the changing inter-caste attitudes in India, 239 urban subjects, belonging to 4 traditional Hindu castes and Harijan castes (former "Untouchables"), checked five traits (from a list of 88) most characteristic of their own and other groups. A comparison of results with similar studies conducted earlier points to the fading of earlier stereotypes about castes. The picture of one's own caste was often similar to the perception of that caste by other castes, indicating a general acceptability of some of the caste-stereotypes. The higher castes still show resistance to relinquish age-old prejudices against the lower castes.

Averill, James R., Edward M. Option, Jr., and Richard Lazarus

1969 Cross-Cultural Studies of Psychophysiological Responses During Stress and Emotion. *International Journal of Psychology* 4:82-102.

Within a theoretical framework that considers emotions in terms of stimulus properties, appraisers and related sub-systems and response categories, experimental data on emotion can be fruitfully studied. Data gathered from Japanese and American Ss who watched a sub-incision film yielded similar results, with the exception of differences in skin conductance, and the tendency of Japanese Ss to respond physiologically at the same level throughout, in contrast to their American counterparts. Current investigations proceed along lines of exploring

expressive reactions and interpersonal relations in stress and emotions. Similarities discovered between cultures deserve emphasis, "for ultimately it is only in terms of pancultural psychological processes that differences can be interpreted."

Bergeron, Arthur P., and Mark P. Zanna

1973 Group Membership and Belief Similarity as Determinants of Interpersonal Attraction in Peru. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:397. College students in two universities in Arequipa, Peru rated target persons differing in terms of group membership and belief similarity on a series of scales designed to measure various aspects of interpersonal attraction. The results indicated that, whereas belief similarity was a reliable determinant of interpersonal attraction, group membership accounted for significantly more variance, even when interpersonal attraction was assessed on dimensions which imply low levels of intimacy. These results were contrasted with those obtained in the United States in connection with the so-called race versus belief controversy. The differences between the two sets of results were attributed to the strong group norms in economically less advanced countries.

Bonilla, Eduardo Seda

1969 Spiritualism, Psychoanalysis and Psychodrama. *American Anthropologist* 71:492.

The term "fluids" of spiritualism seems related to the libido concept in psychoanalysis. A mental breakdown explained as possession by spirits with whom the patient has been in contact in another existence

(existential situation) seems to have affinity with a phenomena similar to what psychoanalysts call a "flooding of the ego by a return of the repressed." When compared with psychotherapeutic practice, spiritualism reveals clear affinities with psychodrama.

Borra, Ranjun

1970 Communication Through Television UNESCO Adult Education Experiments in France, Japan and India.

The UNESCO studies demonstrated the potential of TV for promoting culture and education among the general masses. They also indicated that teleclubs (group viewing) could be an effective means for communicating messages of social education, and that the appeal of TV was not restricted within national boundaries. JA

Carment, David W., and G. Richard Tucker

1970 Correlates of Birth Control Practices in India. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 4:111.

Scores on Rotter's I-E scale, attitudes regarding contraception, and other personal and familial data were obtained from vasectomized and nonvasectomized factory workers in urban North India. It was found that those in favor of contraception were more internal than those against. I-E scores did not differentiate between the vasectomized and nonvasectomized, but the vasectomized, as compared to the nonvasectomized, had more living children and more male than female children. There was some suggestion as well that those who had alone made the decision to be vasectomized were more likely to perceive the outcome as negative than were those who had made a

joint decision with their wives. Finally, it was noted that a greater proportion of Sikhs than Hindus supported contraception.

Caudill, William

1973 The Influence of Social Structure and Culture on Human Behavior in Modern Japan. *Ethos* 3:343.

This article presents some ideas on the effects of social and cultural change on psychological adjustment in Japan. It is based on a review of literature written in the last 100 years on Japanese national character, with special emphasis on the psychological and behavioral characteristics that seem to have persisted from the past and remain viable in modern Japanese life.

Christozov, Christo

1970 Schizophrenia in North Africa Examined from the Viewpoint of Transcultural Psychiatry. *Annales Medico-Psychologiques* 1:521-554. Studies 260 male Ss hospitalized in Morocco on individual, familial, and collective levels with respect to age, family status, number of offspring, occupation, residence characteristics, duration and number of hospitalizations, neurologic condition, and incidence of alcoholism, cannibalism, and syphilis to examine how ethnic, cultural, and religious peculiarities of North African society mark the clinical picture and dynamism of schizophrenia. Paranoia, followed in importance by catatonia, is the predominant form, doubtlessly representing a fundamental characteristic of North African psychopathology. Other clinical characteristics, as well as prognosis, are discussed in relation to their counterparts in European countries. JA

Cohen, Erick

1968 "Social Images" in an Israeli Development Town. Human Relations 21:163-176.

Studied social images in an Israeli town to determine whether the dichotomy of higher class harmonious images and lower class conflicting images is valid. At least 1 further variable, the equalitarian image, should be added since not everyone perceives society hierarchically. A fourfold typology is proposed, based on a dual dichotomy: harmonious vs. conflicting and ascriptive vs. nonascriptive images. JA

Chawla, Tilak R.

1970 Cultural Factors and Kahn Intelligence Test. Indian Psychological Review 6:77-79.

Examined the culture-free characteristics of the Kahn Intelligence Tests (KIT). The KIT was administered to 154 public school children in India--82 boys and 72 girls. Analysis of data using analysis of variance showed that groups of Ss coming from different subcultures, i.e., rural vs. urban, socioeconomic levels, language groups, and sex, did not differ significantly in their IQ scores. The findings suggest that scores on the KIT are not influenced by cultural ecology. JA

Deshen, Shlomo

Ethnicity and Citizenship in the Ritual of an Israeli Synagogue. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 28.

Tension between citizenship and ethnicity is expressed in an Israeli ethnic synagogue by changes in ritual and symbolism. The symbolic

expression of these changes related worshippers of the synagogue, who are recent immigrants to Israel, to their new heterogeneous environment. Analysis of the changes in symbols demonstrates that the referential aspects have expanded, consistent with alterations in traditional relationships. The reinterpreted symbols may be categorized in terms of a typology of religious change as instances of "tradition," in the sense that the experiential range to which the symbol applies has been changed.

Dawson, John L. M., Henry Law, Andrew Leung, Richard E. Whitney

1971 Scaling Chinese Traditional-Modern Attitudes and the GSR Measurement of "Important" Versus "Un-Important" Chinese Concepts. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:1.

Dawson, John L. M., William Ng, and Wing Cheung

1972 Effects of Parental Attitudes and Modern Exposure on Chinese Traditional-Modern Attitude Formation. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:201.

Following recent Traditional-Modern attitude change regarding research, additional evidence to support traditional-modern attitude change hypotheses is presented, and is concerned with the relative effects of parental socialization and other modernizing influences on attitude change among groups of Hong Kong Chinese. Younger Hakka village children were found, as expected, to have significantly more traditional attitudes than other children, while their traditional-modern attitudes also correlated more highly with those of their parents. Two matched

adolescent Anglo-Chinese and Chinese Secondary samples were also chosen to examine the relative effects of parental socialization and mass media on attitude change. Both parental T-M attitudes and exposure to mass media were relevant to the development of student's T-M attitudes at the Anglo-Chinese school but for the Chinese Middle school only parental T-M attitudes were relevant, not exposure to mass media.

Diop, A.

1968 Kinship and the Wolof Family. *Annales Medico Psychologiques* 2:398.

Deals with developments in the traditional kinship structure of the Wolof people (Sudan and Senegal), from the matriarchal and bilateral to the patriarchal system, as a result of Islamic influence. Wolof family organization is also studied within the context of changes due to colonization and the expediency of a monetary economy, focusing on how the traditional family gradually breaks up to make way for couples, even in rural areas. JA

Douglas, Mary

1968 The Relevance of Tribal Studies. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 12:21-28.

Insight into tribal rituals can be found by studying their social dimensions. The 2 main functions of tribal rituals are coercion in social situations and the expression of a vision of the essential nature of society. The central problem of interpretation of the ritual is the relation between individual psychological needs and public social needs. The public ritual expresses the latter public concern and not the former individual concern. Illustrations are provided by general reproductive rituals. JA

DuPee, Peter, and D. G. Ward

1970 Personal Constructs of Modern and Traditional Xhosa. *Journal of Social Psychology* 82:149-160.

Based on data gathered from 40 working adults and 40 youths, several differences were found between modern and traditional Xhosa. Members of the modern group showed greater homogeneity in construing themselves, used more permeable constructs which covered wider ranges of events, and had the self and ideal self more closely related than in the traditional group. The greater diversity of self-constructs in the traditional group is taken to imply that it is falling apart, and that there is low agreement about how members ought to see themselves, a conclusion which is confirmed by the low self-ideal correlations in this group. JA

Edgerton, Robert B.

1971 A Traditional African Psychiatrist. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 27:

Accounts of African ethopsychiatry have typically emphasized suggestion and the placebo effect. In this account of a Hehe traditional psychiatrist from Tanzania, these considerations are important, but of equal importance is his emphasis upon botanical and pharmacological empiricism. Despite the fact that his epistemology of mental illness is developed within a belief system that emphasizes witchcraft and moral magic, and although he has become expert in dealing with such supernatural considerations, he is primarily a pragmatic psychopharmacologist. His devotion to empiricism in botany and pharmacology, while unusual among

his people, may nevertheless have historical antecedents among the Hehe and may be more common throughout African ethnopsychiatry than has yet been recognized. This African psychiatrist--like so many of the men who built Western psychiatry--serves to remind us that even within a supernatural belief system the beginnings of science may emerge.

Edgerton, Robert B., and Marvin Karno

1971 Mexican-American Bilingualism and the Perception of Mental Illness.

Archives of General Psychiatry 24:286-290.

Presented a household survey interview to 444 Mexican-Americans and 224 Anglo-Americans on beliefs and perceptions of mental illness. The 2 groups did not differ significantly, but there were significant differences within the Mexican-American group. Ss who completed the interview in Spanish differed from those who took it in English in beliefs on a) depression, b) juvenile delinquency, c) the inheritance of mental illness, d) the effectiveness of prayer, and e) the value of familistic orientation. Results suggest that the more commonly described cultural traits of the Mexican-American are most applicable to those who speak only or mostly Spanish. Findings indicate "the need for mental health professionals who possess both fluency in Spanish and sensitive understanding of the culture of the Mexican-American poor." JA

El-Islam, M. Fakhr, and Samia A. Ahmed

1971 Traditional Interpretation and Treatment of Mental Illness in an Arab Psychiatric Clinic. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:301. Traditional interpretations of beliefs commonly entertained and rituals commonly practiced among a sample of 153 Arab psychiatric patients were studied. Ritual practice associated significantly with illiteracy and with the presence of observable disorders of behavior. The interpretations-ritual relationship is not, however, of a one-to-one nature. The belief that general physical weakness is the cause of psychogenic symptoms is exposed and its implications for therapy are discussed from the traditional and medico-psychological angles.

Feaster, J. Gerald

1968 Measurement and Determinants of Innovativeness among Primitive Agriculturists. *Rural Sociology* 33:339-348.

Investigated the innovativeness of "shifting cultivators," who were Mayan Indians in British Honduras. Attitude statements were used to construct both an innovation and a traditional scale. It was assumed that those favoring the statements in the innovation scale were implicitly expressing a willingness to internalize values demanded by a nontraditional agriculture, and those scoring positively in the traditionalism scale were apathetic toward changes in their way of life. In general, the shifting cultivators had favorable attitudes toward innovation. Results of multiple regression analyses show that age, education, level of living, contact with extension agents, and aspirations were significant variables related to the modification of traditional attitudes. JA

Feldman, David H., and Winston Markwalder

1971 Systematic Scoring of Ranked Distractors for the Assessment of Piagetian Reasoning Levels. Educational and Psychological Measurement 31:347-362.

Attempted to determine if a map reading test could be used to assess both a child's map reading skill and his level of reasoning ability according to Piaget's theory of cognitive development. The latter would be assessed by the analysis of the child's choice of distractors. A new instrument for measuring spatial reasoning was designed and validated based on conceptual analysis of a geographic map. All 25 items were designed to induce responses indicative of the 4 reasoning levels suggested by Piaget. The sample included 270 5th, 7th and 9th graders evenly distributed across 3 different ethnic groups (black, white, and Chinese). The results tend to indicate that the instrument devised may be capable of measuring reasoning stage levels as well as map achievement. Results also show that children of different ethnic backgrounds tend to go through the same set of developmental stages and that children of specific developmental levels tend to select distractor indications of that level. JA

Friedman, Neil

1969 Africa and the Afro-American: The Changing Negro Identity.

Psychiatry 32:127-136.

Advances the theory that the emergence of Africa on the international scene, as well as the interest in African history without the colonial veil, gives the American Negro a new positive identification. Previously

the identity of blacks was characterized by negative images, but now it is becoming more positive because of an improved view of Africa and the position of the black man as a serious figure in the political world. JA

Garber, Malcolm

1968 Ethnicity and Measures of Educability: Differences among Navajo, Pueblo and Rural Spanish American First Graders on Measures of Learning Style, Hearing Vocabulary, Entry Skills, Motivation and Home Environment Processes. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California. Sixty-five Navajo, sixty-five Rural Spanish-American, and seventy-five Pueblo children were given a battery of psychological tests including the following. 1. The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Ability. 2. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test. 3. The Preschool Inventory. 4. A nonstandard entry skill scale. 5. A set of Motivation items related to self-esteem, mother-father identification, reward preference, locus of control and test/school anxiety. The parents of the children were interviewed with the Environmental Process Characteristics Questionnaire. The measures were selected on the basis that educationally relevant prescriptions could be generated. These prescriptions should assist in the facilitation of English language arts skills development for the culturally divergent groups of children studied. The major null hypothesis was that there would be no differences among the Navajo, Pueblo, and Rural Spanish first graders along the following general dimensions: Learning Style, English Language, Hearing Vocabulary, Entry Skills,

Motivation, and Environmental Process Characteristics. Each one of these dimensions were measured using the above mentioned tests. There was enough similarity within each group studied to plan educational programs for each group as a class rather than for each individual in the group. However, each group was substantially different, suggesting that separate curricular planning for each group as a class rather than for each individual in the group. JA

Gardiner, Harry W., and Dalad Lematawekul

1970 Second-Generation Chinese in Thailand: A study of Ethnic Identification. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:333.

This study investigated the ethnic identification of second-generation Chinese in Thailand. One hundred and seventy-six adolescents 14-18 years of age (92 males, 84 females) were separated into 1) those who used Chinese family names and those who used Thai family names and 2) those who had attended Chinese schools and those who had not attended such schools. The following measures were employed: Behavioral Differential Scale, Assimilation-Oriented Inventory, California Fascism Scale, Conformity Scale, and the Gough-Sanford Rigidity Scale. It was hypothesized that 1) second generation Chinese who used Chinese family names would have a higher degree of identification with Chinese than those who used Thai family names; 2) those who had attended Chinese schools would identify more closely with Chinese than those who had not attended such schools; and 3) scores on the F-scale, C-scale,

and R-scale would be positively correlated with the degree of Chinese identification. Analysis of results indicates support for the first two hypotheses but not for the third. Possible areas of future research are suggested.

Goldschmidt, Walter

1973 Guilt and Pollution in Sebei Mortuary Rituals. *Ethos* 1:75.

This analysis of Sebei death ceremonials deals directly with the interplay between the private motivations of the individual and the structural context within which they operate. The symbolic meaning of the rituals themselves is thus seen as mediating between the private and internal psychological tensions and the public demands that are made upon the persons.

Grey-Little, Bernadette

1973 The Salience of Negative Information in Impression Formation Among Two Danish Samples. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:193.

Two Danish samples were asked to rate an unknown other based on two descriptions, one containing praiseworthy and the other reproachable behaviors. With both samples, negative descriptions had a delayed disproportionate effect on the impression formed. The results for Danish subjects are similar to those found with Americans in spite of broad social and cultural differences which would seem to militate against this similarity.

Harrison, Robert H., and Edward H. Kass

1968 MMPI Correlates of Negro Acculturation in a Northern City. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 10:262-270.

Compared MMPI data from three groups of pregnant women living in a northern city: Negroes born in the south (SN), Negroes born in the

north (NN), and whites born in the north (W). Five of sixteen MMPI scales, twenty of twenty race-sensitive factor scales, and 166 of the 550 MMPI items differentiated among groups at statistically significant levels. The NN group was halfway between the SN and W groups on the majority and items examined. Results are interpreted as reflecting a process of Negro acculturation to the predominantly white urban society.

Hoffman, Michel

1970 Toward a Typology of Attitudes and Aspirations of Young Africans Who are Faced with Modernization. *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* 6:147-159.

Interview Data Collected in 1968 from 1,000 15-30 year old young Africans were organized into a typology of attitudes toward modernization. Questions dealt with current social changes, transitional difficulties, traditional customs, and the modern nation. Based on descriptions of a "successful acquaintance," 3 types emerged: those with no such model (predominantly illiterate, rural and female), those with an agrarian village model (27%), and those with a modernized success model (43%). Within these types, subgroups were distinguished according to life satisfaction or discontent. JA

Hsu, Francis L. K.

1973 Prejudice and Its Intellectual Effect in American Anthropology: An Ethnographic Report. *American Anthropologist* 75:1.

This article deals with some deep forms of prejudice in American anthropology in terms of its dominant ideas and its products. The

foundation of this prejudice seems to be Western individualism. It expresses itself by excluding contrary ideas from its public forums and by elaborating and escalating ideas in conformity with it. In spite of its cross-cultural protestations, American anthropology will become White American anthropology unless our fraternity consciously takes a more open-minded approach to other competing assumptions—rooted in other cultures—about man and what makes him run. There is a world of difference between a truly cross-cultural science of man and a White centered science of man with cross-cultural decorations. AA

Iwai, Hiroshi, and David K. Reynolds

1970 Morita Therapy: The Views from the West. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 126:1031-1036.

Discusses various Western interpretations of Morita therapy, a Japanese method of treating neurosis. The divergence of opinion are approached through 5 topics, including the relationship of Morita therapy with Zen Buddhism and its emphasis on bed rest and work therapy. It is concluded that personal and social background and research setting influence differing understandings of Morita therapy. JA

Jamias, Maria F., Renato Y. Pablo, and Donald M. Taylor

1971 Ethnic Awareness in Filipino Children. *Journal of Social Psychology* 83:157-164.

Investigated Filipino children's self-perception in terms of ethnic identity and assessed how accurately they recognized sketches of persons representing 2 important out-groups, i.e., Americans and Chinese. Each of the 90 Tagalog male Ss (6, 8, and 10 year old) was

administered a picture identification test designed to assess Ss' ethnic affiliation. Results demonstrate that the frequency of identifying with an ethnic group increased with age and that children identified more often with their regional group than with the national group. Ss were more accurate in recognizing Chinese pictures than those representing Americans, implying that accuracy of ethnic perception is related to the frequency of contact with the group. JA

Jayagopal, Rajabather

1970 Problem Solving Abilities and Psychomotor Skills of Navajo Indians, Spanish Americans and Anglos in Junior High School. Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the problem solving abilities of Navajo Indians, Spanish Americans and Anglos in two schools of Albuquerque, using WISC performance subtests as criterion measures and including the five psychomotor skills, perception, visual set, emotional set, physical set and fine motor acts as predictor variables at intra- and inter-ethnic levels. The study was divided into the following parts 1) review of the pertinent literature, 2) design of the study outlining selection of subjects, selection and application of test instruments and compilation and treatment of data 3) presentation, analysis and interpretation of the data and 4) conclusions and recommendations. There is a significant relationship between problem solving abilities and psychomotor skills for all the subjects included in this study. There are significant relationships

between the WISC performance subtest of Block design and the five psychomotor skills of perception, emotional set, visual set, physical set and fine motor acts. There are significant relationships between the WISC performance subtests of Object Assembly and the five psychomotor skills listed previously. There is a significant relationship between the WISC Coding performance subtest and one of the five psychomotor skills, the fine motor acts. The Navajos' performances were significantly higher in emotional set, visual set and fine motor acts than those of the Spanish Americans. The Navajo performances in fine motor acts were significantly higher than those of the Anglos. Similarly, the Navajo performances were significantly higher in the WISC Coding performance subtest than those of the Spanish Americans and Anglos involved in this study. The Anglos involved in this study performed significantly higher in physical set and fine motor acts than did the Spanish Americans. In the WISC Object Assembly performance subtest, the Anglos performed significantly higher than the Spanish Americans. The performances of the Spanish Americans involved in this study were at a lower level in all three WISC performance subtests and on the five psychomotor skills than were those of the Anglos and Navajos.

Kagıtcıbaşı, Cigdem

1973 Psychological Aspects of Modernization in Turkey. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:157.

Attitudinal, aspirational, familial, and social structural variables were assessed among Turkish high school students. Two main personality

types emerged. Type 1, the traditional, was characterized by core authoritarianism, anomia, pessimism about personal future, belief in external control of reinforcement, and religious orientation. Type 2, the modern, was characterized by optimism about personal future, belief in internal control of reinforcement, and achievement orientation. Type 2 was found to develop in a family atmosphere characterized by affection, whereas Type 1 was associated with family control. Family control, in turn, was found to be more characteristic of immobile, lower-SES, and rural homes, whereas family affection characterized upper-SES homes. Thus, social structural variables affected attitudinal dispositions, and specifically modernity, through the mediating role of the family. Sex differences in modernity were also observed.

Kelly, Richard, Raymond Cazabon, Charles Fisher, and Roger Laroque

1970 Ethnic Origin and Psychiatric Disorders in a Hospitalized Population.

Canadian Psychiatric association Journal 15:177-182.

Explored the relationship between ethnic origin and the incidence of different types of psychiatric disorders within a hospitalized Canadian population. Results indicate differences in the distribution of patients among the major diagnostic classifications as a function of ethnic background. In the male population, Ss of British origin showed a higher incidence of alcoholism and a lower incidence of psychosis than Ss of French and other backgrounds. Among the males diagnosed as psychotic, Ss of French and other backgrounds showed a larger percentage of schizophrenic reactions and smaller percentage

of affective psychosis among the Ss of other origins. Several tentative hypotheses are offered. It is felt that the major significance of the findings is the indication that the Canadian population offers potential for research into the relationship between cultural factors and mental illness. JA

Kennedy, John G.

1969 Psychosocial Dynamics of Witchcraft Systems. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 15:165-178.

Based on the arguments presented, "it no longer seems useful to perpetrate the anthropological notion of witchcraft as a 'positive philosophy' which functions to maintain social order and continuity." It is also argued that "witchcraft systems are forms of institutionalized patterns of psychopathology which tend to be pathogenic... and which create built-in self-perpetrating stress systems." An attempt is made "to indicate how witchcraft systems as a consequence of their inherent psycho-social dynamics tend to regularly generate the hate and aggression which they allegedly function to relieve... The modern witchfinding movements of Africa are concrete evidence of the intense psycho-social stress potentially inherent within witchcraft systems." JA

King, Michael, and Johanna King

1971 Some Correlates of University Performance in a Developing Country: The Case of Ethiopia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:293. Language background, educational background, and scores on a variety of achievement and aptitude tests were examined for their relation

to the first semester performance of 1,123 freshman students at the Haile Selassie I University in Ethiopia. Among the test data, proficiency in English language skills was most strongly related to university grades. Scores from tests requiring skill in the official Ethiopian language, Amharic, predicted poorly to university performance, and tests of mathematic-numerical ability showed moderate to weak predictive utility. The only language or educational background data related to performance was educational mobility, the students' tendency to move to areas of greater educational resources during their pre-university education. This mobility was interpreted as reflecting strong motivation for education, a factor which deserves further research attention.

Kloskowska, Antonina

1966 Symbolization Process and Social Interaction: Towards the Definition of the Sociology of Culture. Polish Sociological Bulletin 2:8-19. Discusses the theoretical relationships between the spheres of social and cultural phenomena as a critical point in determining the object of a sociology of culture. This dichotomy is then reduced to the establishment of 3 models to describe the relations between social interaction and the symbolization process toward defining the sociology of communication. It is concluded that a definition of the sociology of culture requires the conceptualization of continual exchange between personal interaction on one hand, and genetic and communicative symbolization on the other. JA

Kraemer, Alfred J.

1969 The Development of Cultural Self-Awareness: Design of a Program of Instruction. HumRRO Professional Paper 27-69.

Describes the design of a training process for developing cultural self-awareness, i.e., awareness of the cultural nature of one's own cognitions. Spontaneous interactions of Americans with foreigners in simulated on-the-job encounters are video-taped. Different behavioral manifestations of particular cognitions and their relation to American cultural premises and values are shown in sequences of video-taped excerpts used for training. The training is intended to enhance the effectiveness of United States personnel in overseas assignments. JA

Kraus, Robert F.

1968 Cross-Cultural Validation of Psychoanalytic Theories of Depression. Pennsylvania Psychiatric Quarterly 8:24-33.

Reviews a study on the Ashanti of central Ghana by M. J. Field, relating organic, social, and multiple cultural factors which produce psychological susceptibility to depression among Ashanti women. An overview of the culture emphasizing changes occasioned by the disruptive force of European and Christian influence producing an unstable social system is presented. Depression literature is reviewed in relation to the ethnographic data. JA

Kubany, Edward S., Ronald Gallimore, and Judith Buell

1970 The Effects of Extrinsic Factors on Achievement-Oriented Behavior: A Non-Western Case. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:77

It has been suggested that the Western conception of intrinsic motivation may be irrelevant among cultures which attach significance to group acceptance. To test this hypothesis, Filipino high school boys in Hawaii were asked to perform a task either in the presence of the experimenter or in anonymous privacy. Pretask instructions implied that striving to do well is highly desirable. As predicted, subjects in the public condition showed more achievement-oriented behavior (greater preference for a moderately difficult task). The results were discussed in terms of a distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and in terms of the effects of situational variables upon achievement-oriented behavior.

Lammers, Donald M.

1969 Self-Concepts of American Indian Adolescents Having Segregated and Desegregated Elementary Backgrounds. Ed.D. Syracuse University.

The purpose of this study was to compare the self concepts and academic achievement of two select groups of Onondaga Indians (one group educated in a segregated elementary school and the other in a desegregated elementary school) and a select group of white students attending junior high school. In view of the findings of the study, the following conclusions can be stated: 1) There is evidence to indicate that significant differences in obtained elementary school grade point averages do exist among segregated Indian, desegregated Indian, and white students.

In comparing the three groups, the median grade point average in order from lowest to highest was desegregated Indians, segregated Indians, and whites. 2) There is no significant evidence to indicate that, as measured by the Self-Social Symbols Tasks and Self-Concept of Ability Scale, differences exist in terms of self concept among segregated Indian, desegregated Indian, and white students. 3) There is evidence to indicate that significant differences in class ranking, as measured by a class ranking instrument, do exist among segregated Indian, desegregated Indian, and white students. The white students had the highest percentage above the class median in junior high school English, mathematics, and social studies. The segregated Indians had the highest percentage above the class median in art and music. The desegregated Indians did not have the highest percentage in any of the five categories. 4) There is no significant evidence to indicate that, as measured by the Questionnaire on Attitudes Toward Different Testing Situations differences exist in terms of test anxiety among segregated Indian, desegregated Indian, and white students. Certain aspects of the results of this study do support the popular notion that there are social and educational advantages to be derived by Indian students educated in predominantly white elementary school culture and environment. The amount of possible effect on the Indians by the whites appear to be dependent on how well the Indians' culture and expectations match that of the white society which surrounds them.

LeCompte, William, and Guney K. LeCompte

1970 Effects of Education and Intercultural Contact on Traditional Attitudes in Turkey. *Journal of Social Psychology* 80:11-21.

152 girls from the first and third year at two different high schools in Istanbul, Turkey, rate their approval of 35 statements describing traditional and individualistic actions. The statements were weighted to yield scores for seven issues involving the person in relation to his family. A separate sample of 180 high school seniors from other towns in Turkey was used to validate the directions of the scales. Correlated sample tests with the latter sample indicated that fathers were rated as significantly more traditional on six of the seven issues. Analysis of variance results for the Istanbul data supported the hypothesis that scores would be less traditional with greater education and with attendance at a foreign school. The greatest differences occurred in issues involving independence on career choice and relations between the sexes, while religious practices and respect for elders showed least change.

1973 Generational Attribution in Turkish and American Youth: A Study of Social Norms Involving the Family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:175.

One hundred seventy-four Turkish and 171 American adolescents rated their own and their father's approval of 35 statements describing traditional or individualistic actions. The statements were weighted to yield scores on seven family-related issues, and the latter scores were factor analyzed. Factor scores were submitted to analysis of

variance to determine the effects of culture, sex, and generational attribution (self versus father-ratings). Predictions of greater approval of individualistic actions for American versus Turkish respondents, self-versus father-ratings, and males versus females were all supported with the "Independence-in-Choice" factor (p. 01). On the "Traditional-Respect" factor, the mean for American self-ratings alone approved of independent actions, different from all other means (p. 01). The possibility of sequential stages of change in different attitude domains was discussed.

Lefley, Harriet P.

1972 Modal Personality in the Bahamas. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:135.

Modal personality of a colonial people evolving toward independence was investigated. The research was presented as Phase I of a longitudinal study of behavioral adaptation to sociopolitical change. A questionnaire and 40-item Sentence Completion Test, tapping aggression, anxiety, authority relations, dependency, interpersonal attitudes, values and aspirations were administered to a representative sample of 160 Bahamian adults. Passivity, hostility/acquiescence toward authority, internalization of anger, lack of achievement orientation, and a strong emphasis on interpersonal relations and psychological equilibrium, with a concurrent de-emphasis of economics, were modal characteristics. Despite significant differences in percentage response, groups differentiated by age, sex, SES, education, and father-absence were alike in central tendency. Comparative data from Thailand and the Philippines were

presented. The relationship of modal personality to historical factors, and its implications for sociocultural change, were also discussed.

Lieblich, Amia, Anat Ninio, and Sol Kugelmass

1972 Effects of Ethnic Origin and Parental SES on WPPSI Performance of Preschool Children in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:159. A Hebrew translation of the Wechsler Preschool Primary Scale of Intelligence was administered to 1072 Israeli-born children aging 4 to 6 1/2 years. Groups originating from Israel, East Europe, Middle East and North Africa, all subdivided into High vs. Low SES groups, were identified. The eight groups differed significantly in the level but usually not in the pattern of the subtests' scores. First generation Oriental children performed relatively lower, but the gap between second-generation Israeli children of Oriental and Western origin is notably diminished.

Littig, Lawrence W.

1971 Motives of Negro Americans Who Aspire to Traditionally Open and Closed Occupations. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:77. The aspirations of Negro American college students to occupations which traditionally have been open or closed to them were examined as functions of a) the predominantly middle or working class status of the college attended and b) individual differences in achievement, affiliation, and power motivation. Among Negro students in a middle class Negro college aspiration of traditionally open occupations was

associated with weak affiliation motivation. Among students attending a predominantly working class Negro college, strong achievement motivation and strong power motivation were related to aspiration to traditionally closed occupations. It was inferred that the personality basis for occupational integration may differ as a function of the social class milieu in which the Negro student is functioning at the time he makes occupational decisions. Replication on minorities in other nations is suggested.

Lystad, Mary H.

1970 Adolescent Social Attitudes in South Africa and Swaziland, *American Anthropologist* 72:1389.

A content analysis was undertaken of stories written by adolescents in urban townships in South Africa and in an urban setting in Swaziland. The findings concerning the nature of the actors and the relationships between actors in the stories suggest that though South Africans in their early years encountered more elements of modernity than do the Swazis.

McKendry, James M., Margaret S. McKendry, and George M. Guthrie

1972 Inflated Expectations and Social Reinforcement in the Lowland Philippines. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:83.

Two alternative hypotheses of the psychological impact of planned social change in the lowland Philippines were investigated. 1) Planned social change produces social reinforcement which leads to a more content population; or 2) it leads to a cycle of rising expectations which outstrip actual accomplishment, the result of which is dissatisfaction

and hostility--especially among young people. Results in general favored the social reinforcement hypothesis. Efforts aimed at increasing a community's level of development tend to produce more modern value systems and increased general contentment. However, they also tend to produce a greater emphasis upon the local government to continue to meet the needs of people.

Madsen, Millard C.

1971 Developmental and Cross-Cultural Differences in the Cooperative and Competitive Behavior of Young Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2:365.

A two-person experimental task was developed for use in the study of age and cultural differences in the cooperative-competitive behavior of children in a small Mexican town and in California. The results indicate a higher level of cooperation among Mexican than among Anglo-American children and an increase in nonadaptive competition with age among the Anglo-American children.

Madsen, Millard C., and Ariella Shapria

1970 Cooperative and Competitive Behavior of Urban Afro-American, Anglo-American, Mexican-American and Mexican Village Children. *Developmental Psychology* 3:16-20.

In 3 experiments, 48 7-9 year old children from each of 3 ethnic groups in the United States performed on the cooperation board developed by M. C. Madsen. In Experiment I, Mexican-American boys were less competitive than Mexican-American girls and Afro- and Anglo-Americans of both sexes. In experiment II, all 3 groups behaved in a highly

competitive manner. In Experiment III, the 3 groups behaved in a nonadaptive competitive manner while 36 7-9 year old village children in Mexico behaved cooperatively. JA

Marconi, Juan

1969 Cultural Barriers in Communication which Affect the Growth of Programs for the Control and Prevention of Alcoholism. *Acta Psiquiatric y Psicologica de America Latina* 15:351-355.

Describes problems in reaching Chile's 3 cultural types—and educated middle class guided by scientific theory, a large working class guided by folk medicine, and the aborigines who practice a medicinal ritual. A survey showed alcoholism to be a large problem among the lower classes, particularly the aborigines. Existing programs for alcoholism at the National Health Service and the University of Chile are reviewed and suggestions are made for a more effective program.

Marsella, Anthony, David Kinzie, and Paul Gorden

1973 Ethnic Variations in the Expression of Depression. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:435.

Samples of Americans of Japanese, Chinese, and European ancestry evidencing clinical levels of depression were administered a depression symptom checklist, and the results were submitted to a factor analysis. Groups differed with respect to the functional dimensions expressed by the patterns. In general, existential symptoms dominated the patterns of the Japanese and Caucasians, while somatic symptoms were more characteristic of the Chinese. In addition, the Japanese evidenced an interpersonal symptom pattern, and both oriental groups manifested

a cognitive symptom pattern. A theory was proposed which suggested that symptoms are related to extensions of the self-conditioned via socialization experiences. The role of individual differences, stress, and cultural definitions of disorder in determining the expression of depression was also discussed.

Mason, Evelyn P.

1969 Cross Validation Study of Personality Characteristic of Junior High School Students from American Indian, Mexican, and Caucasian Ethnic Backgrounds. *Journal of Social Psychology* 77:15-24.

A cross-validation study of the responses of 22 American Indian, 9 Mexican-American, and 16 Caucasian adolescents to the CPI showed an overall significant ethnic difference ordered with Caucasian highest and Indian lowest. This ordering did not occur in the 1st study and resulted from the more negative response of the Mexican male and more positive response of the Mexican female in the 2nd study. The evidence of a generalized more negative response by females regardless of ethnic background was validated, however. Of greatest significance was the consistent, all pervasive negative responses of both male and female American Indians. JA

Masuda, Minoru, Gary H. Matsumoto, and Gerald M. Meredith

1970 Ethnic Identity in Three Generations of Japanese Americans. *Journal of Social Psychology* 81:199-207.

Ethnic identification in 3 generations of Japanese Americans in Seattle, Washington, was quantified with a 50-item Ethnic Identity Questionnaire. The total ethnic identity scores were significantly

different across generations in the hypothesized direction, 1st, 2nd, 3rd. No difference was seen between sexes within generations. Acculturation of the immigrant, 1st generation was indicated by item score analyses as was the presence of a considerable residual of Japanese ethnic identity in the 3rd generation Japanese-American. Education and socioeconomic status were negatively associated with ethnic identification and Buddhist religion was not a significant factor.

Masuda, Minoru R. Shin Hasegawa, and Gary Matsumoto

1973 The Ethnic Identity Questionnaire: A Comparison of Three Japanese Age Groups in Tachikawa, Japan, Honolulu, and Seattle, *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:229.

Three generational age groups of Japanese in Tachikawa, Japan, Honolulu, and Seattle were compared on their responses to the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire. At all locations, there was an attenuation of ethnic identification, here seen to be defined by the instrument as Meiji Era Japaneseness. The elderly were cross-culturally consensual in their attitudes. The Seattle and Honolulu second-and third-generation Japanese-Americans were more similar to each other than to their Tachikawa age counterparts. The lower Honolulu scores were attributed to their greater social, economic, and political power. In Tachikawa, there was a continuity of Japanese pride, but increasingly fragmented attitudes in family kinship and traditional behavior and attitudes.

Melamed, Leslie

1968 Race Awareness in South African Children. *Journal of Social Psychology* 76:3-8.

The relative value of 4 physiognomic features which distinguish between the races in South Africa was examined at age levels 6, 8, and 10. No age differences were found and skin color appeared to be the most dominant cue used when it was available. Age differences in learning to discriminate between the other cues were found. This suggests that age differences found in racial awareness of children older than 6 could be an artifact of the test situation. JA

1970 Mac Crone's Race Attitudes Scale: Thirty Years After. *Psychologia Africana* 13:202-208.

Administered I.D. Mac Crone's scale of ethnic attitudes to 57 undergraduates. Results were compared with those obtained by Mac Crone in 1937. Marked changes were observed in the scale and Q values. The changes in scale values were partly explained by a change in the method of scale value assessment and by changes in Ss' perceptions of the items. Q value changes were possibly due to the smaller sample and a nonuniform shift in ratings of items. It is concluded that while the scale can still be used for ordering respondents on a continuum, it cannot be used to determine absolute position on the scale. JA

Miller, A. G.

1973 Integration and Acculturation of Cooperative Behavior Among Blackfoot Indian and Non-Indian Canadian Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4:374.

Teams of boys from an integrated elementary school played a game on

the Madsen Cooperation Board which, while permitting either cooperative or competitive behavior, rewarded cooperative behavior. Indian teams, all-while teams, and integrated teams all showed a similar pattern of behavior on the games. This pattern was marked differently from the behavior patterns which have been demonstrated for either Blackfoot or white children from nonintegrated schools. The behavior of all the groups from the integrated schools was midway between that of nonintegrated white and Blackfoot children in terms of the frequency of cooperative responses. The data are discussed in terms of acculturation and the effects of integrated schooling.

Niehoff, Arthur H., and J Charnel Anderson

1968 The Primary Variables in Directed Cross-Cultural Change. HumRRO
Professional Paper 36-68:26

Compared 171 cases of cross-cultural change projects, and extracted factors that acted as sanctions or barriers in the introduction of innovations. Three types of behavior were noted: a) techniques of the change agent, e.g., communication, demonstration, and flexibility; b) motivation--in the form of felt need, practical economic benefit, novelty--for acceptance or rejection by the recipients; and c) reaction produced by the traditional cultural patterns, e.g., leadership, theological beliefs, and economic patterns. JA

Okana, Yukio, and Bernard Spilka

1971 Ethnic Identity, Alienation and Achievement Orientation in Japanese-American Families. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 2:273.

The need for a strong identification with one's traditional heritage has been a chief tenet voiced in minority group movements. To test

the hypothesis that ethnic identity counters the alienative feelings attributed to minority status and supports achievement values, samples of Japanese-American high school students and their mothers were evaluated. These subjects represented Sansei and Nisei Japanese Americans, respectively. They were selected from Buddhist and Christian churches in Denver, Colorado. Buddhist mothers were found to be more ethnically identified than Christian mothers, but their children did not differ in ethnic identity. Buddhist adolescents scored higher in both achievement orientation and alienation compared with Christian adolescents. These differences were discussed in their possible relation to differential home environments.

Orpen, Christopher

1971 The Relationship Between Extra Version and Tough-mindedness in a "Tough Minded" Culture. *Journal of Psychology* 78:27-29.

Tested the hypothesis that social attitudes are not closely related to deep-lying personality trends in cases where the social attitudes are culturally sanctioned. 90 Afrikaans-speaking South African school children brought up in the relatively "tough-minded" Afrikaans cultural climate were given measures of tender-mindedness, extroversion, and social distance. Ss were given the Eysenck Personality Inventory, Eysenck's Tender-Mindedness scale, and the Bogardus social distance scale. The correlation between the personality dimension of extroversion and tender-minded attitude was negligible, supporting the hypothesis. This major finding and others are discussed in terms of the cultural determination of the relationship between extroversion and tough-minded attitudes. AA

Ortner, Sherry B.

1973 Sherpa Purity. *American Anthropologist* 75:49.

This paper explores the relationship between explicit cultural forms "symbols" and underlying cultural orientations. It assumes the position that the two are intimately interrelated, indeed inseparable, and further that it is the symbolic forms themselves which are the mechanisms linking underlying cultural orientations to observable modes of socio-cultural action. These points are elaborated through a detailed analysis of one such body of cultural forms, the set of phenomena considered polluting among the Sherpa of Nepal.

Osborne, Olive H.

1969 The Yoruba Village as a Therapeutic Community. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 10:187-200.

Among the Egba-Ebgado Yoruba peoples of Nigeria there are several village psychiatric treatment programs. Nigerian psychiatrists believe that such village programs have greater therapeutic and economic efficacy than treatment modalities and structures commonly found in Western society. The identification and assessment of social and cultural elements which enhance or detract from the therapeutic potential of the village treatment programs are discussed. Psychological, social and cultural data are utilized to suggest comparisons between Yoruba therapeutic communities and Western psychiatric communities. The potential of these programs and further refinement of the concept "therapeutic community" are also considered.

Peres, Yochanan, and Zipporah Levy

1969 Jews and Arabs: Ethnic Group Stereotypes in Israel. *Race* 10:479-492.

Discusses the concept stereotype and investigates "the stereotype which Arabs and Jews have of each other, and also the stereotyped image each group has of itself." 60 Arab and Jewish undergraduates were interviewed. The image of centrality, inferiority, deprivation, interdependence, salience and visibility, and the political and spritual attitudes of the minority and majority are discussed and compared. JA
Kamon, Shulamit

1972 The Impact of Culture Change on Schizophrenia in Israel. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 3:373.

This Israeli-based study considered the hypothesis that culture change, as a social process, can influence a family involved in this process to the point that one of its offspring exhibits schizophrenic behavior. The sample consisted of forty triads (parents and their young adult son) divided into four groups according to the variables of country of origin (Poland and Yemen) with and without a schizophrenic offspring. Interactions between cultural deviance and defects in communication was assumed. It was hypothesized that the group of families of schizophrenics expected to be higher on the cultural deviance score (Yemen) would be lower on defects in communication than the comparable group (Poland). Measures of the two interacting variables were derived from TAT stories given by each triad as a group. The findings confirm the hypothesis and thus allow the conclusion that, at present, defects in communication are conducive to cultural deviance in families of the Schizophrenic-Yemen group.

Resner, Gerald, and Joseph Hartog

1970 Concepts and Terminology of Mental Disorders Among Malays. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:369.

This paper presents the concepts and terminology of mental disorder as they emerged spontaneously from Malays, both urban and rural, of West Malaysia during nearly 2 years of interviewing and examining patients and nonpatients. Translated into a Western framework and summarized, the concepts are: heredity, periodicity, congeniality, brain strain, stress (including interpersonal), susceptibility, infection, contagion, delayed onset, conditioning, and resistance. The parallelism between these folk and modern concepts suggests certain universal bases and clues to labeling and treatment of mental disorders. The study revealed existence of a skeletal community mental health program.

Rodgers, William B., and Richard E. Gardner

1969 Linked Changes in Values and Behavior in the Out-Island Bahamas. *American Anthropologist* 71:21-35.

The relationships between observable changes in sociocultural behavior on the one hand and underlying value systems on the other is examined in two communities that stem from a single sociocultural tradition but that recently diverged because of differential exposure to economic development. Value preference of individuals in each community were elicited by structured questionnaires, which allowed operational measurement of values and statistical testing of differences within and between the

community samples. The findings are explained with reference to the nature of the behavioral responses of individual to perceived modifications (related to economic development) in their environment.

Ronch, Judah, Robert L. Cooper, and Joshua A. Fishman

1969 Word Naming and Usage Scores for a Sample of Yiddish-English Bilinguals. *Modern Language Journal* 53:232-235.

Reviewed the findings of a study using 8 male, and 7 female European-born Jewish adults who had used Yiddish as children and who continued in the United States for 40-60 years. The societal domains measured were home, ethnic behavior, work, neighborhood, and Jewish cultural activities. A Word Naming Test in English and Yiddish was administered, and analysis of variance revealed that the "ratio of English to Yiddish words named varied as a function of domains." Ss rated themselves as using the most English in the home domain. Compared with analogous Puerto Ricans, the Yiddish-English bilinguals use more English in the home domain than do the Puerto Ricans. JA

Rothbart, Myron

1970 Assessing the Likelihood of a Threatening Event: English Canadians' Evaluation of the Quebec Separatist Movement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 15:109-117.

Contrasted attitudes of 191 English Canadians living in Quebec with attitudes of a comparable, nonthreatened group living outside of French Canada. Measures were obtained of: a) perceived causes of French Canadian dissatisfaction, b) perceived strength of the separatist movement,

c) amount of information regarding separatism, d) degree of opposition to separatism, and e) estimated likelihood of Quebec's eventual separatism from Canada. On the basis of group differences and within-group multiple regression analysis, it was observed that estimated likelihood of separation varied inversely with strength of opposition to separation, and directly with knowledge of the separatist movement. It is proposed that a S's estimate of the likelihood of a threatening political event was the result of 2 competing factors: a) his desire to minimize the prospect of an undesirable event, and b) his awareness of the social conditions giving rise to that event. It is argued that fear motivates denial of a threat, but that the strength of the denial process could be sharply attenuated by the knowledge of the threatening event. JA

Roy, Chunilal, Ajit Choudhuri, and Donald Irvine

1970 The Prevalence of Mental Disorders among Saskatchewan Indians.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 1:383.

Indian communities in Saskatchewan are undergoing social changes as a result of rapid growth in populations and a closer contact with the non-Indian communities. The effect of such changes may be reflected in the nature and extent of the mental health problems among the Indian populations. This paper is an attempt to understand such problems in Saskatchewan. Analysis of hospital first-admission statistics at the North Battleford psychiatric institution, for the period from 1961 to 1966, showed that the Indian sample contained significantly higher

numbers of schizophrenics and epileptics. These findings prompted an active case-finding survey for the first time in Canada in an arbitrarily defined geographical area which contained 18 rural municipalities (non-Indian) and ten Indian reserves. Analysis of the data revealed that the prevalence of mental disorder was significantly higher in the Indian communities. Furthermore, the Indian sample contained significantly higher numbers of schizophrenics and mental retardates. Findings are discussed in terms of relevance to future cross-cultural psychiatric research and methodological problems.

Sanday, Peggy R.

1971 Analysis of the Psychological Reality of American-English Kin Terms in Urban Poverty Environment. *American Anthropologist* 73:555.

The purpose of this paper is 1) to describe and explain variation in the psychological reality of American-English kinship terms; and 2) to examine the relationship between results obtained in two approaches which have been used to find psychologically real definitions of American-English kinship terms. A general hypothesis is proposed which accounts for variation in psychological reality in terms of life cycle and certain social role variables, as well as the individual's experiential knowledge of the domain under study. This hypothesis was accepted after it was revised to include the mediating influence of the content of what is stored in memory. The data for this study were collected in U. S. urban poverty environment.

Sanjek, Roger

1971 Brazilian Racial Terms: Some Aspects of Meaning and Learning.

American Anthropologist 73:1126.

Harris notes that the New Ethnography has been characterized by a lack of quantitative methods. In a study of racial vocabulary in a Brazilian village, quantitative procedures are employed to show that, despite considerable ambiguity, a small portion of the corpus of 116 terms forms the cognitive map of most informants and organized the bulk of the domain. Data on how children acquire the vocabulary is used to demonstrate that skin color and hair form are the primary variables.

Sapir, J. David

1970 Kujaama: Symbolic Separation among the Diola-Fogny. American

Anthropologist 72:1330-1348.

The Diola-Fogny concept of "kujaama" represents a complex symbol that defines a set of pollution rules having to do mainly with blood and food avoidance between generations and between husband and wife at the death of one or the other. Analysis of the diverse manifestations of Kujaama shows that each represents but one variant of a general principle, that is, the inauspiciousness of mixing separate categories. Further analysis places kujaama in the larger context of Fogny moral life and places the rituals associated with kujaama in the "grammar" of ritual acts and gestures.

Schmidt, J. J.

1967 Tribal Affinity in an Urban Bantu Community. Journal of Social

Research 16:7-18.

Schwartz, Lola R.

1969 The Hierarchy of Resort in Curative Practices: The Admiralty Islands, Melanesia. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 10:201-209. Relates the treatment of illness in the Admiralty Islands to the assignment of illness to one of four main categories: a) interpersonal, soul damage by extrahuman agents b) interpersonal curing within group c) interpersonal sorcery outside of group and d) impersonal organic damage by an imminent impersonal agent. The first two causal assignments persist as explanations for illness with implications for traditional cures in every instance. The third and fourth assignments vary inversely with one another in priority of resort to native or European curative practices. An analysis of factors in the allocation of cases between European (acculturative) and native (counter-acculturative) curative agents is presented.

Schwartz, Theodore

1973 Cult and Context: The Paranoid Ethos in Melanesia. *Ethos* 2:153. The cargo cult as a type-response to culture contact occurs in the context of an area-wide paranoid ethos that underlies Melanesian cultures. This article considers an aspect of cargo cults as a mode of psycho-cultural adjustment generated in the interaction between the deep, persisting structures of Melanesian and Western cultures.

Shapira, Ariella, and Jacob Lomranz

1972 Cooperative and Competitive Behavior of Rural Arab Children in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:353. Twenty groups of 9 to 11 year old boys and girls from an Arab village in Israel played a game which required cooperative interaction among

them to attain prizes. Half of the groups consisted of children of the same "Hamula" (extended family) and half of children from different Hamulas. It was found that boys were more cooperative than girls. Hamula boys were less cooperative than non-Hamula boys, and Hamula girls were more cooperative than non-Hamula girls. These Arab village results were compared with cooperation-competition among subjects from rural communities in Mexico, the Canadian Indian population and Israeli kibbutzim.

Slogett, Barbara B., Ronald Gallimore, and Edward S. Kubany

1970 A Comparative Analysis of Fantasy Need Achievement among High and Low Achieving Male Hawaii-Americans. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:53.

Fantasy need achievement scores were obtained from male high school students representing three ethnic groups: Filipino-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and indigenous Hawaiians who were further categorized into high-achieving and low-achieving groups. The only significant differences were between the Japanese and the two Hawaiian groups who had the lowest n Ach scores. More importantly, the two Hawaiian groups differentiated in terms of experience, ability, achievement, and social class did not differ significantly in terms of n Ach. These findings were interpreted as challenging the usefulness of the notion that Hawaiian children do well or poorly in school because they possess or lack n Ach.

Stanley, Gordon

1969 Australian Students' Attitudes to Negroes and Aborigines on the Multifactor Racial Attitude Inventory (MRAI). *Journal of Social Psychology* 77:281-282.

The MRAI was administered to two groups of white Australian university students, one responding with the American Negro as target person (n=76), the other with the Australian Aborigine as target person (n=73). There were not significant differences between attitudes on these two groups and the cultural dissimilarity of the groups. The Australian students indicated a more favorable attitude to Negroes than American students.

Sundberg, Norman D., Pritam K. Rohila, and Leona E. Tyler

1970 Values of Indian and American Adolescents. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 16:374-397.

Derived 17 hypotheses about Indian-American differences from a literature review. 9th grade Ss representing school populations in towns in Northern Indian (N=48) and Western United States (N=48) answered 90 Q-sort items. As expected, Indian Ss scored higher on deference and conformity, external control, extrinsic work values, and planning; Americans scored higher on sociability, sensuous enjoyment, and religiosity. Contrary to expectations, no differences were found on areas, i.e., individuality, free will, and democratic values. When items were dichotomized into endorsement and rejection, the two groups showed four times as much communality in divergence. Similarity was greater between sexes within the cultures than across cultures. Findings imply more complexity than is suggested by the distinction between traditional and modern values. JA Sydiaha, Daniel, and Irving Rootman

1969 Ethnic Groups within Communities: A Comparative Study of the Expression and Definition of Mental Illness. *Psychiatric Quarterly* 43:131-146.

Examined differences between French and non-French samples in 2 Canadian communities in an attempt to assess the importance of "traditional," "local," and "societal" cultural factors. Seventy percent of 1 community was French and 13% of the other. No evidence was found "for the importance of ethnic factors ('traditional culture') in the expression of mental illness or in community attitudes and conceptions about mental illness...Minority groups in both communities tended to have a higher incidence of mental illness, and the non-French minority in the French community tended to be most uninformed in its attitudes and conceptions about mental illness." The pattern was considered an indirect ethnic influence. "Most of the statistically significant differences were obtained between towns, rather than within." JA

Szalay, Lorand B., Dale A. Lysne, and Jean A. Bryson

1972 Designing and Testing Cogent Communications. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 3:247.

Experiments involving choice tasks were conducted to test the potential utility of word associations in constructing assertions and messages that are cogent in the sense that they actually bear on the interests and experiences of a particular audience. Similarity judgment tasks, which were based on verbal association data previously obtained from similar groups, were administered to U. S. and Korean student samples. The results supported the hypothesis that associations previously scoring higher by one cultural groups would be judged "more similar," "more related," by a groups from the same culture. In another experiment administered only to the Korean group, higher-scoring associations and their respective communication themes were combined

into assertions. It was assumed that assertions based on strong associative linkages would be judged more meaningful by groups similar to the one on which the original data were obtained. The cogency of these association-based assertions constructed on the same themes by two cultural experts on Korea; the association-based assertions were found to be significantly more meaningful.

Tan, Mely G.

1968 Social Mobility and Assimilation: The Chinese in the United States.

Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

This study proposes to examine the consequences of upward social mobility for racial or ethnic minority groups. Existing literature has shown that the question whether social mobility leads to structural assimilation, i.e., the disappearance of the group as a distinct entity, is problematic. The focus of this study is on the Chinese in the United States as a group which shows evidence of rapid social mobility and is recognizable as an ethnic minority group. The study is organized in two parts: documentation of the changes in socio-economic status of the Chinese, based on the Census data of 1940, 1950 and 1960; the investigation of the relationship of this development with the process of assimilation based on a sample of Chinese in San Francisco. The examination of the Census data shows an accelerated increase in nonmanual occupations, in educational attainment and an improvement in the income pattern. The investigation of the sample of the Chinese community in San Francisco indicates that those defined as socially mobile are higher in cultural assimilation and in structural assimilation on the secondary group level than those defined as less or not socially mobile. However, there are no differences among these

groups with respect to structural assimilation on the primary group level. This finding gives support to our hypothesis that social mobility among the Chinese has not led to structural assimilation on the primary group level. The American-born Chinese identify as Chinese-Americans; they accept their status as "hyphenated" Americans and show no feelings of inferiority or inadequacy on account of it. They are convinced that they can be good American citizens while retaining some of their cultural characteristics and communal solidarity. Thus, we do not foresee the transformation from "ethnic stratification" to "class stratification" for the Chinese in the United States, nor the disappearance of the group as a distinct ethnic entity. We anticipate that the Chinese, as a group, may remain indefinitely in the state of structural assimilation on the secondary group level. This attitude indicates an adherence to the idea of cultural pluralism. A crucial factor for the acceptance of this idea as the basic philosophy in race and ethnic relations is the attitude and social climate in the larger society. Undoubtedly, in this respect, there is and there will continue to be variation in time, by area, by degree of favorableness and by race or ethnic group involved. Today, the social climate in San Francisco seems favorable, at least towards the Orientals; witness the recent addition of the name in Chinese characters on the street signs in the Chinatown area and the rebuilding of Nihonmachi or "Japan Town." JA

Taub, John M.

1971 The Sleep-Wakefulness Cycle in Mexican Adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 2.353.

The sleep-wakefulness patterns of 257 Mexican males and females

ranging in age from the 20s to 80s was studied using a questionnaire. The average duration of sleep exceeded that typically prescribed for other Western cultures (8 hours per 24), and significantly varied with age decreasing from the 20s to 50s, after which there was an increase. There was a significantly greater incidence of sleep disturbance in subjects over 50 compared to the other Ss the post-awakening mood of those with sleep disturbance and those over 50 was described by a significantly greater frequency of negative affect. Significant age and sex differences were found for the frequency of dream recall. The duration and frequency of daytime naps in Ss of all age groups revealed the presence of a polycyclic sleep-wakefulness cycle which has not been reported with such generality in other Western cultures.

Taylor, D. M., E. P. Dagot, and R. C. Gardner

1969 The Use of the Semantic Differential in Cross-Cultural Research.

Philippine Journal of Psychology 2:43-51.

Two groups of English-Tagalog bilinguals rated each of 8 ethnic group labels on the same 48 semantic differential scales. 102 responded in English while a 2nd groups of 111 Ss was administered an identical form of the scales prepared in Tagalog by means of a back-translation procedure. Results indicate that there was moderate agreement between the factor structures of the ratings on both forms of the scales. In terms of responses on individual scales it seemed clear that the Ss who responded in their native language (Tagalog) were more willing to express themselves evaluatively than those Ss who made their ratings on the English form. JA

Taylor, Donald M., and Lise M. Simard

1972 The Role of Bilingualism in Cross-Cultural Communication. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:101.

Mixed ethnic pairs of Ss (French/English) and same ethnic pairs (French/French and English/English) performed an experimental task designed to assess communicational efficiency. Following the communication tasks Ss completed a questionnaire which assessed their bilingual skills and attitudes about communicating with a member of a different ethnic group. The Ss, unlike previous studies, were French and English Canadian factory workers who daily interact with members of the other ethnic group. The results demonstrated that cross-cultural communication can be as efficient as within group communication. This efficiency seems to result because of a reciprocal bilingualism where members of each group have some degree of fluency in the language of the other. For the communication task both French and English were used almost equally and positive attitudes about communication were evidenced.

Termansen, Paul E., and Joan Ryan

1970 Health and Disease in a British Columbia Indian Community. *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal* 15:121-127.

Reviews previous studies on the type and incidence of physical and mental illness among the legal Indians in British Columbia. Data was gathered from responses of 51 doctors to a questionnaire and the provincial mental hospital charts and interviews. Results indicate a low incidence of mental disorder and raise questions as to the "manner in which Indian communities define and deal with mental illness." JA

Thompson, L., and J. A. Hostetler

1970 The Hutterian Confession of Faith: A Documentary Analysis. *Alberta*

An experimental attempt is made to formulate the traditional character of the Hutterian Brethren from 16th century source documents. Original texts are analyzed in terms of 5 categories developed for purposes of cross-cultural comparison. The purpose of the analysis is to provide a basis for illuminating the problem of culture change in belief systems and to demonstrate a scientifically valid method of charter analysis using historical sources. It is suggested that this model may be found useful for effective comparison of value systems of mankind on a worldwide scale. JA

Torrey, E. Fuller

1970 Mental Health Services for American Indians and Eskimos. *Community Mental Health Journal* 6:455.

Surveys past and present mental health services for American Indians and Eskimos and finds them to be inadequate. A plan is outlined for the development of such services based upon a cooperative rather than a paternalistic venture with these minority groups. The plan is based upon the use of indigenous therapists for individual and group psychotherapy, the modification of etiological beliefs, and an emphasis upon primary prevention. The Alaskan Eskimo is used to illustrate how these principles could be put into effect. The outcome would be a system of mental health services specifically adapted to the culture, realistically commensurate with available manpower, and compatible with dignity for the group.

Tribble, Joseph Everett

1969 Psychosocial Characteristics of Employed and Unemployed Western Oklahoma Male American Indians. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Oklahoma.

This study initially addresses itself to the problem of acculturation and, in particular, the problems of unemployment encountered by the Indian. More specifically, the main focus is an investigation into some of the psychosocial characteristics of the unemployed and employed Indian. Representing 19 different tribes living in western Oklahoma, 143 Ss were presented with the California Psychological Inventory and a Labor Force Survey. The data, in the form of 69 variables on each S was analyzed by various multivariate statistical procedures. The findings from the analysis indicate that a set of a priori variables can serve as an index for discriminating between unemployed and employed Indians and that such a set of indices can serve to predict the probability of association for each S to one group or the other. Additional analyses were performed in the personality differences and several salient differences were found, particularly in the area of social and moral responsibilities, achievement potential, and certain other elements of the self concept. Additional nonparametric analyses were performed on certain sociological variables that constituted a modified "acculturation index" and several salient differences were found. Among those were the facts that the level of education and vocational training were unrelated to employment status. Finally, the study analyzed possible implications of the differences and suggested follow-up research on the predictive validity and the implementation of the indices to assist in a resolution of the unemployment problem among Indians. JA

Trujillo, Rupert

1969 Rural New Mexicans: Their Educational and Occupational Aspirations.

Ed.D. dissertation, The University of New Mexico.

The purposes of this study were to investigate, within the framework of level of aspiration theory, the effects of an educational-occupational program on 1) rural adults' educational and occupational aspirations and general areas of beliefs which tend to affect the individual's ability to adapt to the conditions of urban economic life, and 2) rural students' educational and occupational aspirations, general areas of beliefs which tend to affect the individual's ability to adapt to the conditions of urban economic life, and school attitude. The data for the study were gathered in Sandoval County, New Mexico. A program titled Home Renovation was administered by the County Welfare Department under Title V. The purposes of the program were to 1) provide underemployed and unemployed rural adults with training in home construction and adult basic education and 2) renovate substandard houses of eligible welfare clients in the county. Five major hypotheses were constructed to guide the study; they dealt with the relationship between training and house improvement and the dependent variables of aspirations, work beliefs and school attitude. Four groups of adults and four groups of students were selected for the sample. Two groups of adults (the experimental groups) either had received training or had their houses improved; the two adult control groups were similar in significant characteristics to the experimental groups. The students resided in

these adults' homes. The total sample consisted of 110 high school age students and 90 adults. Statistical techniques to analyze the data were one-way and two-way analyses of variance. The findings from this study revealed that the educational-training under consideration in this study served to change attitudes of participants of their offspring. A positive relation exists between short-range idealistic aspirations of adults living in a house that has been renovated. The educational aspirations of adults who received training were found to be higher than the educational aspirations of adults who had not received the training. Results indicate that students have higher aspirations than their parents. A positive relation was found between attitudes toward change, mobility and adaptability and students' living in improved houses. Probably the most noteworthy finding was the fact that students living in improved houses attended school more often than students from houses which had not been improved. JA

Vogler, James Donald

1968 The Influence of Ethnicity and Socioeconomic Status on the Pictorial Test of Intelligence. Ed.D. dissertation, University of Arizona.

Problem: This study sought to determine the influence of ethnicity and socioeconomic status on the Pictorial Test of Intelligence (PTI) by investigating the following questions: 1. Does ethnicity of socioeconomic status effect differences in the distribution of IQ or individual subtest scores on the PTI? 2. Does ethnicity or socioeconomic status effect differences in the overall pattern of PTI subtest?

3. Are there items which are less culturally weighted than others?
4. Does ethnicity or socioeconomic status effect differences in predictive validity of the PTI?

Procedure: Responses to the PTI were obtained from 108 subjects representing samples of 27 subjects each selected from four different ethnic and socioeconomic status groups (upper Anglo, upper Mexican-American, lower Anglo, lower Mexican-American). In addition, their scores on the Metropolitan Readiness Test, Stanford Achievement Test, and their grades in reading and arithmetic were also obtained.

Findings and Conclusions: One-way analyses of variance revealed significant differences (generally in favor of Anglo ethnic group membership and upper socioeconomic status) among the four groups in the study of all but the Immediate Recall subtest. Factorial analyses of variance indicated that there was no significant interaction between ethnicity and socioeconomic status. It was also indicated that socioeconomic effected differences in six of the seven separate scores (total and six subtests) while ethnicity effected differences in only three of these. Thus, it was concluded that socioeconomic status contributed more to the group differences in PTI scores than did ethnic group membership. The separate subtest scores for the four groups in the study were converted to normalized standard scores and, through analysis of variance, significant differences among the overall patterns were found to exist. The chi-square test was applied to the differences among the number of subjects in each of the four groups passing a

particular item. With the exception of those items which could not be tested because of low expected frequencies, all of the items on the Immediate Recall subtest failed to discriminate at or beyond the .10 level of significance and thus were determined to be "culture fair." It was noted that the predictive validity of the Immediate Recall subtest, as evidenced by the correlation with Stanford Achievement Test mean subtest scores, was only .09. The remaining subtests, by comparison, ranged from .40 to .59. Thus, it was concluded that removing the "cultural differentials" from a test may reduce its validity for the prediction of a culturally loaded criterion such as educational achievement test scores. No significant differences were found to exist among the four groups in the study in correlations of IQ scores on the PTI with Stanford Achievement Test scores or grades in reading and arithmetic. Significant differences did exist, however, in correlation with the Metropolitan Readiness Test. On the basis of the findings of the study, it was concluded that the PTI tends to discriminate against children from the Mexican-American and lower socioeconomic status cultures in much the same fashion as the majority of the existing intelligence tests. JA

Werner, Emmy, E., and Rajalakshmi Muralidharan

1970 Nutrition, Cognitive Status and Achievement Motivation of New Delhi Nursery School Children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:271. Significant differences in head circumferences and growth rate, the Draw-A-Man IQ and measures of visual-motor development were found between

between 24 inadequately and 16 adequately nourished New Delhi nursery school children from lower-middle class homes. No differences were found on measures of language development when parental income, occupation and nursery school attendance were controlled. Results of achievement motivation tests varied with the sex of the child. On most measures, inadequately nourished children showed greater variability than the adequately nourished, and inadequately nourished girls had lower mean scores than inadequately nourished boys.

Weston, Peter J., and Martha T. Mednick

1970 Race, Social Class and the Motive to Avoid Success in Women. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:283.

This study sought to examine race and social class differences in the expression of fear of success in women. This concept, termed the Motive to Avoid Success (M-s), was developed and utilized by Horner (1968) to explain sex differences in achievement motivation. In our study, M-s imagery expressed in response to TAT-verbal cues was compared for black and white college women and two social class levels. The hypothesis that black women would show less M-s than white women was supported. The findings held for subject at two schools and for two verbal cues. Social class differences were not found. Several interpretations and suggestions for follow-up studies are given.

Williams, Trevor H.

1972 Educational Aspirations: Longitudinal Evidence on Their Development in Canadian Youth. *Sociology of Education* 45:107.

The development of educational aspirations in high school students is represented in a causal model developed from the point of view of reference group theory and including measures of the influence of referents at two points in time. Change in the relative effects of the various causes specified in central to the investigation. The model is quantified via path analytic procedures separately for males and females using data on 3,687 Canadian students. The data suggest that the influence of referents changes over time, that parents exert the greatest influence, and that sex differences in this decision-making process are manifest.

Wolman, Carol

1970 Group Therapy in Two Languages, English and Navajo. *American Journal of Psychotherapy* 24:677-685.

Reviews those social factors which lead many Navajo reservation Indians to alcohol abuse. Group therapy sessions are described where the Navajo language was employed and translated to the therapist by an interpreter.

Guidelines for future groups of this nature are suggested. JA

Young, Virginia Heyer

1970 Family and Childhood in a Southern Negro Community, *American Anthropologist* 72:269-288.

The American Negro family is generally interpreted, ethnocentrically, as an impoverished version of the American White family, in which deprivation has induced pathogenic and disfunctional features. This concept of the family is assumed in studies of Negro personality formation, which

furthermore have relied entirely on clinical methods of research. Fieldwork among Negro town-dwellers in the Southeastern United States plus a reassessment of the literature yield a sharply contrasting portrait and interpretation of the American Negro family in which organization strength and functionality are found. Observations of parent-child relations show highly distinctive behavioral styles, some of which have remained undiscovered by psychoanalytically oriented studies and others of which differ markedly from the extrapolations of clinical research. These forms and styles are viewed as aspects of an indigenous American Negro culture. Finally, the formative effect of an indigenous culture is argued as a corrective to the common viewpoint of deprivation as the prime cause of Negro behavior.

Za'rour, George I.

1972 Superstitions among Certain Groups of Lebanese Arab Students in Beirut.

Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 3:273.

This study is partly exploratory to assess the extent to which superstitious beliefs and behavior are common among different groups of high school and university of Lebanese Arab students in Beirut. Class level, sex, high school science achievement, and major were the main variables that were investigated as to their relevance to superstitiousness. More than 600 students in the 8th and 11th high school grades and university sophomores answered 59 items relating to superstitions with respect to acquaintance, belief in, and influence on behavior. It was found that superstitiousness, significantly decreased with increasing level of education. Among the

other variables investigated, the major findings were that among the university sophomore students, females and arts students were respectively more superstitious than males and science students.

Ziegler, Michael, Michael King, Johanna M. King, and Suzanne M. Ziegler
1972 Tribal Stereotypes Among Ethiopian Students. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3:193.

Ethnic stereotyping by Ethiopian students of four important ethnolinguistic groups (the Amhara, Tigre, Galla, and Gurage) was investigated. The method used was a modification of the Katz and Braly technique for assessing generality of stereotypes. The tendency to stereotype both one's own and other groups was quite marked, and there was considerable overlap between in-group and out-group description. Where there were discrepancies, the in-group evaluation was more positive and the out-group evaluation more negative. Individuals showed consistent differences in tendency to stereotype. Some of the stereotypic adjectives used support earlier, European descriptions; others indicate that Ethiopian students' attitudes reflect the country's movement towards modernization and Westernization.

CLASSROOM ETHNOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Nancy Foxworthy

Frances Schwartz

Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education

The contours of the field of Anthropology and Education have been established primarily by cultural anthropologists who stressed the cultural milieu of education and emphasized cultural transmission. These anthropologists have demonstrated the importance of anthropology for educators and greatly contributed to our understanding of the cultural dimensions of education. In essence, however, they have not dealt extensively with the social contexts of the educational process. The aim of this paper then is to illustrate the value of applying the concepts of social anthropology to the analysis of schools and the social dimensions of learning. Schooling will be looked at as a multifaceted process within the general context of a structural approach. The approach will draw attention, not only to the more enduring features of structure, but also to the informal relationships which develop within the context of the school classroom and peer groups and which constitute the conflict of the learning situation.

I

Two types of cultural studies of education may be distinguished, macro and micro ethnographies. Research employing a macro ethnographic approach has focused directly or indirectly on culture change and transition, but not on the structural implications of these changes. Studies of the socialization process within one society (e.g., Mead 1962, Read 1968, Williams 1969) explore the social transitions from childhood to adult. Such studies focus on the interrelation between the individual's passage through stages of physical and social development and the acquisition of cultural knowledge, essentially on how

children learn to become adults in a given culture. In other types of macro ethnographic research, change is examined within the context of cultures in contact. Utilizing concepts of acculturation and resocialization (e.g., Foster 1965, Grindall 1972), investigators have demonstrated the impact of Western education on behavior and values on tribal organization (King 1967). In a complex society, Foner (1973) has examined the relation between Jamaican children's competition for advancement in a British influenced educational system and parental estimation of social status.

Microethnographic research shifts focus from a societal to an institutional framework. Studies viewing the school as an institution in relation to a surrounding community have examined the lack of communication between schools and the culture of their students, and also the manner in which communities manipulate schools for social, but not educational ends (e.g., Watson 1970). In addition, this type of study has examined education within one school or one classroom in order to probe systematically the impact of this finite, observable social system on behavior and attitudes. Urban research which has focused on conflicts between teacher and student sub-cultures (e.g., Rosenfeld 1971, Levy 1970) has compared teacher expectations of student behavior in middle and lower class black and white schools (e.g., Leacock 1969). Moreover, intensive studies in one classroom have attempted to broaden research methods by utilizing information from both teacher and ethnographer to describe teacher-student interaction (Geoffrey and Smith 1966). While this type of research has provided rich descriptions of school life from the teacher's perspective, it has not viewed the complexity and the educational implications of student behavior.

It is possible to combine the intensive and rigorous methods of the micro-ethnographic approach with the macroethnographic emphasis on change to better understand education as a social process. Learning, as we are beginning to comprehend, is not only an individual cognitive process but also an interactive social one. It is measured not by tests and grades alone but by behavior. Students in school can respond socially to the classroom setting by learning to learn or not to learn. Since they are both the subject and object of teaching endeavors, it is their interaction that should be studied in depth.

II

In a relatively recent assessment of anthropological research in education, Sindell (1969) proposes "the description and analysis of classroom process" as one area for further investigation. Some researchers have begun to employ the tools of social anthropology for examining behavior in the classroom. For example, a study by Burnett (1969) used network analysis to observe peer and teacher linkages at home and at school. She placed the content of these links within an event analysis. Warren (1969), in studying teacher behavior by categorizing the types of interaction they experience, used similar methods. While this is an important first step, we would argue that the classroom cannot be viewed in isolation. In neither case did the researcher fit behavior or events into the structural context of the school.

In addition to analyzing processes in the classroom the researcher must understand the institutional setting. One must locate a classroom within the structure of a particular school in order to investigate student interaction.

The following questions might be asked: First, what is the ideology and the educational organization of the school? Second, how are the students assigned to a classroom and what criteria determine their placement? Different educational structures with different mechanisms for placement produce divergent social responses among students and these in turn color their performance. To further explore these questions we will first contrast two different educational structures, the traditional and the open or alternative school, and then investigate the impact of student interaction on the learning process in each.

In traditional schools there is a formal hierarchical structure with administrators at the top, teachers in the middle and students at the bottom. Administrators make major institutional decisions, teachers make educational choices about the organization of learning in their classrooms and students decide how to respond to the teacher. The teacher is seen as the behavioral and intellectual authority in the classroom who defines appropriate learning methods and materials. Moreover, it is often the first assessments of the teachers of the academic ability and performance of students that determines their future academic placement. Positive sanctions are awarded to students who obey the teacher and complete their school work on time and correctly.

By contrast, the alternative school represents an attempt to eliminate both the administrative and academic hierarchies of the traditional school. Particularly at the high school level, students and teachers are supposed to make joint decisions about the administrative and educational organization of the school. There is no official academic classification or stratification of students.

Along with the differences in formal organization, there are different behavioral expectations of students and teachers in each of these settings. In the traditional school students are rewarded for sitting quietly at their desks, speaking when called on and supplying the correct answer to an adult to whom they give their individual attention. Similarly, the effective teacher is one who controls the class and at the same time stimulates and challenges the students intellectually. Interaction between students is generally seen as disruptive and in conflict with the teacher's educational goals. In the open or alternative school, teacher and student are expected to participate jointly in the educational process, with student as initiator and teacher as guide. The teacher must recede from a central position and at the same time be able to determine students' educational needs and remain available for help and consultation. Open education stresses an informal approach to schooling. Placed in a stimulating environment of things such as books, games, manipulable materials, and self-explanatory work sheets and of people, students are expected to organize responsibly their own learning. They choose activities and pursue projects within the educational format set by the teacher. Here, students' social ties and interchanges are acknowledged as academically useful. The open school or classroom lacks the traditional school asymmetric classroom relationship between one teacher and a passive group of students who have seemingly equal opportunity for instruction. Students must utilize their social ties to attract the teacher and to gain access to resources in the environment.

Within these different educational contexts, it is possible to explore the role of peers. In the traditional school we can first question the impact

of peers on the academic streaming processes. Second, we can analyze students' reactions to their academic placement and its effect on learning. Upon entry to school, students who have not yet been academically ranked confront the formal structure, and it is their behavior that influences their ranking into high, middle and low classes.

It is obvious as has been claimed by much literature that socio-economic and ethnic factors play a key part in the streaming process. Generally in a mixed school lower class students are in the lower tracks and middle class college bound students in the upper track. However, by examining behavior and student friendships we can see that there is much more subtlety and complexity to this process. School life is not merely a reproduction of home life but a separate and distinct phenomenon. As representatives of the formal structures, teachers react to students from the first day of school and make judgments about their academic capabilities.

In a study of an urban kindergarten Rist (1970) indicates that children's appearance and acceptance of the teacher's behavioral values are one basis for categorization. From the first day of school, the teacher begins to make judgments that will be crucial to subsequent streaming. Even by choosing students to answer questions or to help more often than others, a teacher is differentiating.

Rist found that after the first week of school permanent seats are assigned and that the places of students in this seating arrangement determines which first grade class (a high, middle or low) the children enter the following year. Those at the table closest to the teacher enter the high class and those

farther from her the low class. Each table contains children who were similar in appearance and behavior. The following seems to be the criteria for seating: teacher estimation of appropriateness of social behavior of the children, their physical appearance and neatness, skin color (the lighter the student, the closer to the teacher), command of standard English versus Black dialect, and information about family welfare status and living arrangements.

While socio-economic factors do play a key role in determining a child's seating and therefore academic ranking in school, the additional phenomenon of a student's social behavior also affects this process. Thus Rist's findings indicate that teachers rely on a combination of factors including both their assessment of social class and appropriate behavioral patterns.

Lacy's research (1970) with high school students in a British grammar school focuses primarily on the interrelation of social ties and the streaming process. Students who choose each other as friends during the first non-streamed year of grammar school tend to be placed in the same academic streams the following year. Aside from possible coincidence of individual intellectual capacity, friends demonstrate like attitudes towards school work and behave similarly in the classroom and in test situations. Student behavior then is a major determinant of teachers' judgment of academic ability and performance. As students choose friends in a new school setting, they are also, perhaps inadvertently, choosing academic labels. Once students are labelled within the formal structure, their peer group reacts to that placement. They respond to students in other tracks and to teachers and peers in their own track.

Thus, he notes that after streaming, student friendship patterns become polarized into "pro and anti" school subcultures. The pro-school subculture is demonstrated by acceptance of the school's goals and overt adherence to the teachers' behavioral standards, while the anti-school subculture is characterized by the challenging of teachers and a refusal to accept their innate intellectual or behavioral standards.

Among students the initial differentiation between the pro and anti school culture becomes rigidified and can circumscribe involvement in academic activity for the anti-school students. Hargreaves' research in a British secondary modern school (1967) demonstrates that educational barriers are created by this differentiation among students. The bottom stream boys define themselves antithetically to the top stream who appear to share the institution's standards by doing their school work. Consequently, these boys reject any effort at academic achievement which to them indicates an unwanted identification with the top stream.

Student response to their classroom setting is influenced by teacher expectation of them. Not only do teachers evaluate students in order to label them, but also, once pupils are ranked, teachers develop expectations based on these academic labels. Nell Keddie demonstrates that in the classroom even teachers who ideologically oppose streaming and its consequent discrimination against low ranked (and in her study lower class) students have different expectations of the high and low stream and different definitions of appropriate information to be presented to each. She demonstrates that these expectations are based less on ability than on intellectual style.

Where the high stream students seem to accept the teacher's conception and organization of the material, low stream students appear unwilling to adhere to the teacher's framework. Therefore they seem to disrupt, to ask inappropriate questions and to challenge her ability to organize information.

In class, then, students find themselves confronted with two categories of individuals, the teacher who represents the formal structure and their peers who represent an informal one. Through the peer group, students devise classroom strategies which either facilitate, inhibit or prevent academic performance altogether.

Research done in a New York City grade school with an upper, middle and low ranked fourth grade illustrates peer reaction to placement (Schwartz 1972). Only the students in the top stream exhibited a pattern of behavior which can be characterized as sneaking (including surreptitious interaction such as talking, fighting, or playing between children). To the casual observer and to the teacher, who rarely moved from her desk in the front of the room and who was positively predisposed to a class of "achievers", the students appeared perfectly behaved. This was not, in fact, the case. Closer examination revealed a complex series of skillful surreptitious interaction. Students read books under their desks, making sure that the book required for class was open to the right page. They played games, passed notes and even knitted and crocheted without the teacher's knowledge. By contrast, only the bottom stream exhibited behavior which can be characterized as clowning. They ran around the room, painted themselves with chalk, pulled materials from the supply closet and indicated more than once that they knew they were the dumb

class so what else could be expected from them. They organized themselves only to subvert academic activities. For instance, when the teacher tried to give a spelling test the students so successfully accused each other of cheating that they caused the test to be cancelled.

We can look to their structural positions for explanation of the behavioral differences between these classes. The highest stream who had succeeded in the formal structure insured that the peer group did not interfere with their academic standing. By contrast, the lowest stream students, deprived of commendation, used the peer group to react against the teacher as a representative of the formal structure, in which they saw themselves as failures. The students in the high class could simultaneously preserve their academic label and actively maintain their peer ties. In fact, one basis for prestige in the peer group was expertise in sneaking. The students in the lowest class did not have the same opportunity. For them the peer group prevented rather than facilitated academic performance and further damaged their position in the formal structure. Prestige among peers was delimited to open disruption of the class.

We can further elucidate this contrast from a structural perspective. In the high class the hidden action against the teacher can be seen as conflict while the interaction between the low stream and the teacher could be termed contradiction (Bailey, 1960). Students in the high stream class subordinate their informal behavior to a structure that is mutually acceptable to both teacher and students. Even though the students consciously hide their behavior of sneaking from their teacher, they are willing to overtly accede to

the school's rules. However, in the low stream class the students refuse to accommodate themselves to the labels assigned by the school; therefore, there is no overriding structure that is mutually acceptable to both. Thus contradiction cannot be resolved without structural change.

We can see the open school as one attempt to alter the structure of schools in order to avoid such unresolvable disputes. The organization of the formal structure is to be changed so that students and teachers participate along less hierarchically divided lines. Consequently, the investigation of the educational influence of the peer group in the open school focuses first on their social reorganization and then on their use of social ties for academic ends.

When they enter an open or alternative school students do not confront a preexisting hierarchical structure in which they will be academically ranked. Rather, they face an amorphous situation from which they, along with their teachers, are supposed to develop a structure. As their social order emerges, students do not become differentiated into extreme types of subcultures as they do at traditional schools. Research during the first year of an urban alternative high school indicates that distinctive pro and anti school subcultures do not emerge. Academic enterprise becomes a component for social leadership. In fact, those who might have represented extremes of pro and anti school cultures at a traditional school associate with each other in order to accomplish specific goals (Schwartz n.d.). The formerly pro school students might exchange help in academic areas for social favors from the formerly anti school students. For instance, a pair of academically successful girls who were not invited to an important party supplied educational information to a popular girl who,

having resisted teachers' efforts, had not fulfilled her academic responsibilities and was threatened with negative sanction from teachers and peers if she did not demonstrate interest in her course work. In turn, this girl secured an invitation for the pair.

Within the emergent social order, students' social alliances influence their ability to gain access to resources and to utilize available adults. While some form social groupings, others become independents, i.e., students who despite reciprocal friendship ties choose to act primarily independently. Among social groups there are those with hierarchical or rotating leadership patterns and those which lack such organization. While the members of the organized groups might develop patterns for academic cooperation in order to distribute information, attract the teacher and secure resources, members of the other type could not. When they attempted to undertake jointly a project, their refusal to acknowledge a leader created conflicts which disrupted work efforts. In order to undertake academic assignments they either had to work independently or with those outside of their immediate circle of friends.

While the educational difficulties for groups without leadership were more blatant, the other social units also faced academic problems in specific situations. Some courses required the students' cooperation for the completion of a long term project. Faced with this task members of triads or dyads, for instance, might decide that in order to execute a certain project they need to recruit additional personnel. However, they may lack the social ties necessary to do so. In the same situation, with the emphasis on cooperative enterprises, an independent would need to establish a working relationship

with other students. In these instances, in order to enhance their academic capabilities, an independent and members of one social unit might cooperate. Acting as a broker for this social unit, the independent creates purposeful links between them and students in other groupings by recruiting additional participants for their project. As an outcome of this process, the independent gains an organized social framework, i. e., the units' preexisting mechanisms for academic collaboration for the completion of a long term effort (Schwartz n. d.).

While students use ties between them to accomplish academic tasks, their social groupings also influence their utilization of teachers. In order to explore this problem researchers positioned students (Dalton, Foxworthy, Schwartz 1972) along Boissevain's continuum of social interaction from single individuals to corporate groups (1968). Analysis revealed that a series of social forms from isolates, dyads, triads to various types of cliques utilized teachers differently. Isolates worked alone or cooperatively with adults as peers. At the other extreme, tight knit cliques worked consistently with one adult who became incorporated into the group to such an extent that the clique resisted the adult spending time with other students. Still other groupings emerged in the classroom only in response to shared interest in a specific topic. These temporary groups required the consistent but not necessarily constant involvement of an adult with expertise in the area being investigated.

III

This information from the open school contrasts dramatically with the data on the behavior of the peer associations in the traditional school.

Within the traditional school student behavior is more a reaction to their position within a formal hierarchical structure while in the open school social ties are utilized for academic purposes. The fact that these patterns are so strikingly different highlights the importance of focusing on the behavior of students from a structural perspective. This perspective leads the ethnographer to investigate phenomena that otherwise might be dismissed. By analyzing the arrangement of positions in a given social structure, the mechanisms for placement in these positions and subsequent responses, the ethnographer views differently placed individuals as social actors with contrasting behavioral strategies. In a school setting, then, one must look beyond student-teacher interaction to explain differences in the social processes between classrooms. If one views students as social actors, one can then focus on students' choices within a social structure.

In doing this, Firth's distinction between social structure and social organization can be utilized to clarify student behavior. He states that "structural forms set a precedent and provide a limitation to the range of alternatives possible." (1963:40). Social organization deals with variability of concrete activity. It represents the individual's choices between alternative actions and "gives expression to variance in the systematic ordering of social relations." (1963:40). In the traditional classroom, the teacher represents the formal structure to which the students must react. Viewing concrete student behavior as social organization allows us to consider their choices, either overt or covert, of priorities of time and resources. Rather than classifying behavior as dysfunctional, the ethnographer can attempt to understand student

behavioral strategies as their manipulation of the situation for their own ends, and to determine the divergence between these ends.

Further educational research might use Firth's distinction between structure and organization to more fully elaborate the behavioral differences in the traditional and open school. It is clear that in both, student social decisions have educational consequences, but the ordering of their choices and the type of impact they have needs more investigation.

The argument that Dell Hymes has made for the study of linguistic investigation of the classroom is clearly applicable to social anthropological study in such settings. "The problem of the functions of language in the classroom is a challenge and an opportunity for the advancement of linguistics itself. Studying language in the classroom is not really 'applied linguistics,' it is really basic research." (Cazden, John and Hymes 1972: xviii). To progress in the understanding of social relationships in the classroom is also to progress in the development of anthropological theory. Consequently, the perspective for classroom research elaborated above should be of interest to both anthropologists and educators.

The exploration of the interaction between students and teachers, given the growing sophistication in theory, opens numerous areas and avenues for research. Longitudinal studies, for example, would permit the investigation of the process of student-teacher interaction over time and the dynamic analysis of the strategies that each develops. By following the same groups diachronically, the anthropologist will be able to identify and possibly predict subtle but nonetheless important shifts in responses to different kinds of learning environments and teaching styles.

The team approach, both intra- and interdisciplinary, so long resisted but increasingly more accepted in anthropology, would greatly assist in upgrading the quality of research. For example, it is virtually impossible for the single anthropologist to gather rigorous data from both the teachers' and students' perspectives. On the other hand, a team of anthropologists could intensively observe and compare teachers and students. One problem area, ripe for such a team approach and in need of an in-depth exploration, is the study of cognitive differences among ethnically and socio-economically diverse students. Comparative research of different ethnic and socio-economic groupings in various educational environments would elucidate variation in response to school settings and educational demands. One possibility would utilize a team approach to compare four school settings, working class and middle class students in both alternative and traditional classrooms. Developmental psychologists working with such a team could bridge the gap between observed behavior and underlying cognitive maps. While Keddie's study, for example, elaborates differences in student behavior, without the aid of developmental psychology she cannot deal with differences in students' conceptual frameworks.

In this paper, we made a plea for classroom ethnography as well as the value of social anthropology to this investigation. In doing so, we delimited the focus of observation and the tools necessary for analysis. Consequently, we have ignored the larger social context of the school and other critical anthropological perspectives. Needless to say, we recognize that any school exists within the context of its particular community. Obviously, our approach is not sufficient for a comprehensive anthropology of education. However, we are

certain that the classroom is a valid and productive point of entry into the study of education. We stress its importance as a unit of research and call attention to theories and methods which can be usefully used in its analysis.

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A SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF EDUCATION:
THE CASE OF CHIAPAS

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Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education

This essay examines the utility of social anthropological theory for the analysis of education. Two foci of research in education may be isolated: the school in its socio-cultural milieu and the classroom within the school. The emphasis here is on the relation of the school to other social institutions, yet it is argued that the two units of study can be handled within a unitary frame of theory. This framework is the equilibrium and processual analysis developed by the British "school" of social anthropology.

In a recent review of anthropological approaches to education, Sindell summarizes the analytical framework utilized:

One studies the culturally and socially conditioned values, attitudes, cognitive styles, self conceptions, role expectations, and modes of interpersonal interaction which pupils, teachers, and administrators bring with them into the school from their various backgrounds. One also investigates the shared perceptions, values, and rituals from which student, staff, and school subcultures arise. (Sindell 1970: 593-594)

This idealist research strategy, with its emphasis on values and expectations, dominates the ethnography of schools and classrooms reviewed by Sindell. Studies of schools within a culture (King 1967, Modiano 1973) stress the clash of opposing cultural value systems within the classroom.

The central theme examined here is that anthropological research in education must move beyond an idealist strategy and adopt a structural approach which analyzes the content and the structure of social relations. The dynamics of classroom interaction and the relation of the school to its socio-cultural milieu can be understood more fully by utilizing models developed in social anthropological research. These are briefly reviewed in the following

discussion, and a case study using this approach is presented to illustrate their utility in the analysis of schools.

One method for studying social systems uses the equilibrium model (Gluckman 1968). A social institution is said to have a built-in time scale called its structural duration. In its analysis "the emphasis is on the manner in which the institution would operate through time if internal contradictions or external intruding events did not interfere with its passage through its structural duration" (Gluckman 1968:219). In this type of analysis, often called stasis or structuralist analysis, the emphasis is on how rules and customs will work out within an institution as if it were in equilibrium (Leach 1954:ix). In social anthropology this kind of analysis was developed by Radcliffe-Brown and his students.

A more recent trend has been the emphasis on models of social change. Partly as a reaction to the static analyses of their predecessors and partly as a reflection of the nature of the social systems studied, social anthropologists began to develop processual forms of analysis (Swartz 1968:Intro). In this kind of analysis, variously known as processual or dynamic, the emphasis is on meticulous description of the events of social change within a given social system and the explanation of these events.

A comprehensive research strategy views the social system as an entity that must be analyzed in both frames of theory, i. e., in an equilibrium and a processual analysis. Barth's essay on social change suggests looking at social behavior as allocations of time and resources (Barth 1967:661). A complete analysis of a social institution shows how behavior is allocated in an

"as if" system and then introduces the events in a process of change. For example, a family system can only be analyzed in a developmental cycle of four generations (its structural duration) by working out the implications of rules derived at one point in time; the family system is then analyzed processually by introducing the events of change that affect it.

An example of this approach is Barth's analysis of Fur households. At a given point in time,

Fur household organization is one where each adult individual is an economic unit for himself . . . Husband and wife have certain customary obligations toward each other . . . But each of the two cultivates separate fields . . . (Barth 1967:665)

Barth describes some Fur households which become nomadic pastoralists like the surrounding Baggara Arabs; household organization changes to a joint system with joint grain stores and sexual specialization of cooperative household activities. One possible explanation is that such Fur households are acculturated to Baggara Arab way of life. However, other Fur households have taken up fruit-growing in irrigated orchards; they also have changed to joint households. The changes in the social institution of the household are analyzed as a result of changed allocation of time and resources, which itself results from changes in forms of subsistence. The analysis moves from an equilibrium view of a Fur household to a dynamic analysis of changes to joint household organization. (Barth 1967:665-667).

The unifying concept in equilibrium and dynamic analysis is, then, a view of social behavior as allocation of time and resources. Neither values, nor customs, nor structures are the determinants of social systems. Social

structures and social values result from the manner in which groups or individuals allocate their time and resources. Naturally, existing structures and values act as constraints on behavioral allocations.

The unit of study in social anthropology is redefined in the comprehensive research strategy. Gluckman's analysis of Zulu politics in the context of the South African nation demonstrated the necessity of analyzing factors external to the community being analyzed (Gluckman 1940). Epstein has shown how urban Africans use different structural alternatives in different situations (Epstein 1958). In work disputes laborers relied on the unions or the courts; these same persons utilized "traditional" tribal means to settle domestic disputes. Epstein uses the concept of "social field" to show the existence of more than one structure in one environment at a given time.

Swartz defines the concepts of political field and arena to define the unit of study in analyzing a social system. The field is composed of the "actors directly involved in the processes being studied"; the contents of this field included the values, meanings, resources, and relationships employed by these participants." (Swartz 1968: Intro) The arena is a "social and cultural area which is adjacent to the field in both space and time." (Swartz 1968: Intro) The persons in the arena are drawn into the field situationally.

Thus, the ethnographer of the school or the classroom defines his unit of study situationally. If one is studying classroom behavior, the field is the classroom and the arena is the school and its socio-cultural milieu. Similarly, the school can be seen as the field and its milieu as the arena; the

choices are made by the particular behavior one is interested in explaining. Logically, a complete analysis takes both foci into account.

The behavior which occurs within one's unit of study is analyzed as patterns of allocation of time and resources. Within the classroom field, one views students' allocations and the constraints (structural or cultural) which are placed upon them. Classroom behavior can be analyzed as an equilibrium system, as if a set of rules were followed in a given period of time. This static analysis is followed by a dynamic analysis which introduces the actual events of change.

SCHOOLS AND THE SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

The specific framework of analysis which is most relevant to studying schools in their socio-cultural milieu is that developed in political anthropology. Swartz defines politics as "the events which are involved in the determination and implementation of public goals and/or the differential distribution of power within the group or groups being considered." (Swartz 1968: Intro). The ethnographer of education, of course, selects those events which are concerned with schools.

Power, in its broadest sense, means control over resources. (see Nichols 1965:52) Power differentials within the socio-cultural milieu of the school are determined by the way in which resources are allocated. These affect the formulation and implementation of educational goals. This encompasses the school as a political field and its milieu as the arena, and

the ways in which they interrelate situationally. The emphasis can be placed either on the internal aspects of school politics, or on the external aspects; but neither makes much sense without the other. They are both parts of a single process of educational events.

A detailed framework has been developed by Bailey in his analyses of local-level politics in Orissa, India. He defines a political structure as a "set of rules regulating competition"; this structure, with the natural and cultural environment, constitutes the political system. A political structure may have many substructures, which are activity-determined. The structure is constituted by five categories of rules: (1) prize rules, that define the goal to be pursued; (2) personnel rules, that "specify who is eligible to compete for prizes"; (3) leadership rules, about the "composition of competing teams"; (4) competition rules, about how competition should take place; and (5) control rules, a set of rules to be followed when a rule has been broken. (Bailey 1969:19) Bailey's concept "structure" implies neither the permanence nor rigidity of earlier equilibrium analysis. Rather, it stresses adaptive modifications made by actors within the structure and the possibilities of disappearance or radical change. The approach includes both regularity and conflict, static structures and dynamic processes.

The rules of politics, for Bailey, have two levels -- the normative and the pragmatic. The first consists of "publicly acceptable values" and the second contains "practical instructions on how to win." (Bailey 1969:4) This distinction is mirrored in Swartz's distinction between legitimacy and

coercion in the exercise of power. Legitimacy is "support which attaches to an object through a symbolic exchange between those who give the support and its recipients" while coercion is support "given in exchange for a highly specific benefit." (Swartz 1968: Intro) Thus, legitimacy is a normative exchange while "specific benefits" follow pragmatic rules.

Bailey further develops the personnel and leadership aspects of his schema. The personnel of a political structure are categorized into (1) the political community, the "widest group in which competition for valued ends is controlled"; (2) the political elite, those "within the community entitled to compete for honour and power"; and (3) the political teams, or those who are active in politics. (Bailey 1969:25) Within the political structure one often finds factions, which is one way of organizing leadership and teams. Factions are groups organized for political competition, with a core of supporters and their leader(s). (Bailey 1969: 51-53).

The following example briefly analyzes College X; it is illustrative only, not based on systematic fieldwork but on a short period of participant-observation. The college is located in an urban community, financed by city funds. Its socio-cultural milieu is a lower and lower-middle class neighborhood in a large city. This is referred to by school administrators and faculty as "the community". It is necessary to understand the distribution of power within this "community" in order to analyze its relation with the college.

One event can be looked at to define the personnel of this community. The normative rule of membership in this community is residence in a certain geographical area. But the events which led to the college's original location

in this area demonstrate a pragmatic rule of leadership within that area. The local Chamber of Commerce had an interest in developing the cultural and commercial potential of the area; they argued successfully through the urban political structure that the college should be located in the area in order to enhance the process of urban renewal. Following the establishment of the college, this group of businessmen has developed plans for office towers, cultural establishments, and other forms of urban redevelopment. The events surrounding the college's location in the neighborhood, then, show that the pragmatic rule of leadership within the school's "community" includes these businessmen. Thus, present-day references to the "community" have the advantage of simultaneously subscribing to a publicly acceptable value which says that colleges should be serving disadvantaged neighborhoods and referring to the pragmatic relation of the college to the local businessmen.

The ambiguity in the reference to "community" is successfully used within the college political structure to influence the allocation of college resources. Thus, one can readily elicit a prize rule within the college which says that "the college must serve the community". But reference to this rule may obscure pragmatic goals being sought by actors within the community; a pragmatic rule of competition is to seek one's goals by referring to the "needs of the community." Thus, for example, one of the prizes sought by every academic department within the college is lines for new faculty members. The members of the academic department will acknowledge a normative prize rule which says that departmental activities should serve the academic purposes of its members, e.g. biologists should teach biology, etc.

The college administration urges departments to "serve the community," a goal which has been resisted by some departments as violating academic objectives of the college. However, these departments found that they could further a pragmatic goal of expanding their membership by invoking the normative rule of "serving the community" while not violating their commitment to academic objectives. All of this was possible because of the ambiguity of the "community." Social work instructors define the community as hospitals, welfare centers, organizations of the elderly, etc.; by adding a member who could teach courses in community organizations, they could "serve the community." Sociologists could define the community as a collection of institutions; someone who could guide research into local institutions could "serve the community" by analyzing these institutions while giving students in-field work. Anthropologists could initiate a program in local archaeology because they were "serving the community" by describing its historical roots; an archaeologist could teach field methods to college students in the process.

Thus, the analysis of the political structure of the college can proceed by analyzing certain events and their relation to the "community." A normative prize rule of the departments is to provide students with a solid academic education; a pragmatic goal is to expand departmental membership. A normative goal is "to serve the community"; a pragmatic rule of competition within the college is to invoke this normative goal to justify the adding of new faculty members. The actors within the political structure may or may not understand the various levels of meaning in this political process; nevertheless, it is the

task of the school ethnographer to describe it.

It is often objected that such analysis does not deal with the educational mission of the school, therefore it is not relevant to the ethnography of education. These internal political decisions may be interesting, but not relevant to education. It should be clear from the foregoing example that the allocation of teaching positions is at the heart of the educational process; the academic direction of the school is determined by the personnel that is has. Therefore, they become relevant to the analysis of a school's educational task.

Another example, taken from this college, serves to illustrate the analytic utility of analyzing factions and the rules of competition that govern decision-making. The college has a senate which includes student, faculty, and administration. A normative rule of competition is that all members of the senate are equal in the power to make decisions. A major goal of senate meetings is to determine the college curriculum; this task is entrusted to a senate committee composed of students, faculty, and administrators who prepare a report that is voted by the senate. The committee has traditionally been chaired by a faculty member. During one year, a student was elected chairman of the committee. One faction of faculty members, not yet content with the normative rule of student membership, was privately dismayed. When the committee report was brought forth, this faction argued for rejection of sections of the report under the normative rule that certain guidelines had not been followed. A faction composed of students and some faculty members argued for acceptance of the report; when the vote was taken, this faction prevailed. The faculty members who voted with the students were berated by

their colleagues for not voting the "faculty line"; the normative rule of competition is that all members of the senate are equal in status, and that they vote as senators and not according to other statuses, but this event revealed the pragmatic rule that competition takes place between a student and a faculty faction. Again, the analysis of this event, incompletely developed here, shows the normative and pragmatic nature of decision-making as regards the school curriculum.

It would be possible to analyze all aspects of college activity in this vein; these examples are illustrative, in order to show the potential power of anthropological theory in analyzing education in a college. School political structure, the relation of the school to its socio-cultural milieu, and the interconnection of these two in the field of local-level politics are enabled by utilizing Bailey's comprehensive schema of analysis.

Another example of a useful line of research comes from a recurring problem in the decentralized school districts of urban New York City (New York Times 10/29/74). Here, decentralized school districts are in existence in order to make city elementary and high schools more responsive to the needs of the community. One program which has accompanied this innovation is the use of paraprofessionals from the community to assist in classroom education. A great number of disputes arise over this program. The events in these conflicts could be analyzed in terms of rules of normative and pragmatic political competition between neighborhood groups, school administrators, the teachers' union, and the city's central Board of Education. An understanding of the structure of school-community politics

is essential in analyzing a dispute over an educational program, i. e., the use of paraprofessionals.

In summary, it is proposed here that an analysis of the allocation of time and resources in the school will further our understanding of schools, and that to accomplish this it is necessary to view the school in its socio-cultural milieu. The structure and process of relationships between actors in the school-community arena must be analyzed as well as the values and attitudes they maintain. Furthermore, the manipulation of cultural values to achieve certain ends must be understood.

SCHOOLS IN CHIAPAS: A CASE STUDY OF SCHOOLS IN THEIR SOCIO-CULTURAL MILIEU

To demonstrate the utility of a Barthian view of social behavior in analyzing schools in their socio-cultural milieu a comparison of two regions in the state of Chiapas, Mexico follows. The piedmont region of the Pacific coast known as the Soconusco will be compared with the highland Altos zone. Modiano has recently studied education in the highlands; her data and conclusions will be reanalyzed by contrast to my own from the Soconusco.

The Soconusco is characterized by three distinct ecological zones: the swampy coastal lowlands, the fertile piedmont of the volcanic chain of the Sierra Madre del Sur, and the highland mountainsides. The piedmont is the site of one of the oldest ruins of Maya civilization, a complex known as Rosario Izapa. At the time of the Spanish conquest it was the

southernmost tributary province of the Aztec empire, prized for its cacao beans and quetzal feathers. The Crown of Spain reserved it for royal tribute, refusing at one time the petition of Don Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra to receive it as his encomienda (fiefdom). The province supplied chocolate to the King's table for the 300 years of colonial rule.

Analysis of archival data shows that by 1870 the province was in the backwaters of the Mexican national economy, no longer providing the cacao riches it had so long supplied to one or another ruling elite. The descendants of the Spanish conquistadores lived in a few ranches on the plain between the coastal swamps and the densely forested piedmont. These ranches had a mixed economy, with agriculture for subsistence and cattle for export.

The descendants of the aboriginal Maya populations, speaking the derivative Mam, lived in communities located in the cloud-covered fastnesses of the mountain peaks. Their subsistence economy was based on swidden agriculture, with a pattern of land use that encompassed the piedmont and the "cold land" where the villages were located. This pattern persists in the microenvironmental adaptations of some villages in the Altos.¹

The social system of the Soconusco in the 1870's embodied the contrasts of lowland/highland, hacienda/swidden, Indian/ladino. The ladinos, as the sons of Spain were called by Indians, occasionally hired Indian labor or bought Indian corn. The Indians sometimes bought ladino salt or other commodities. The nature and extent of inter-ethnic relations are hidden by the paucity of the historical record. Whatever they were, the onslaught

of coffee in the last third of the nineteenth century created a fundamental transformation.

From 1870 to 1910, the Soconusco was the scene of an enormous coffee boom whose extent is revealed by two facts: (1) production of coffee rose from 2,000 kilograms in 1871 to 10,120,000 kilograms in 1910, and (2) all the available land between 500 and 2,000 meters a. s. l. was occupied by coffee plantations. The boom resulted from the influx of British, German, American and European investors attracted by the policies of the porfirista regime in Mexico: cheap land and a guarantee of cheap labor. The land was obtained by the simple expedient of declaring the piedmont terreno baldio, or unused land; as no legal titles were registered for the area it was turned over to the English Land Colonization Co. for sale to investors. No matter that Indians grew corn on the land; let them become laborers on the plantations so they do not "idle their days away."²

This economic revolution transformed Soconusco society. Some Indian villagers became permanent resident peons on the plantations; plantation records show that one permanent laborer was needed for every three hectares of land. The four-month harvest period tripled the demand for labor, so that plantations needed a large migratory labor force to draw upon which would not need to be maintained during the non-harvest months. Plantation records show that slightly more than 80% of harvest laborers were recruited from highland Soconusco villages. As plantations multiplied, the recruiting arm of the plantation grew longer until

villages in the interior located up to a week's walk away were supplying labor.

The new relation of Indian to ladino, as the white capitalists were called by extension, has been characterized as a benign symbiosis in which the calendar of maize production correlated with that of coffee to allow yearly circular migration without disruption of either. This view ignores the essential causal feature in the new allocation of Indian time, which is the displacement of highland villagers from their swidden land. This destroyed the subsistence economy and forced the Indian, willy-nilly, to the alternative of plantation labor. This was not a dual economy either, but one complex social system encompassing ladino plantation owners, resident peons, and highland villagers-cum-migrant laborers.

Some cultural attributes of the laboring population persisted while others disappeared or changed. The visible indicators of Indian ethnicity in the region were language, dress, diet, and agricultural technology. Indian villages in the highland areas even today have distinctive clothing woven from the wool of local sheep; the diet is the trinity of Mesoamerican foods -- corn, beans, and squash; the agricultural tool a digging stick. The persistence of these elements was pointed out by Pozas in his study of Chamula migrants (Pozas 1952).

The plantation resident peons soon began to adopt factory clothing, the plantation diet, and the technology of coffee production with its hoes, machetes, pruning shears, and axes. This change can be viewed as the

adoption of certain customs in the traditional acculturation mode of analysis. Yet this leaves the problem of explaining the non-acculturation of migrants exposed to these "traits" for four months a year. It would seem useful to look at the changed pattern of allocation of time and resources by the plantation residents, who work full-time for the plantation in exchange for housing, a weekly supply of corn, and plantation scrip which must be spent in the company store. The plantation worker devoted all his labor to the production of coffee and had neither the time nor the resources to invest in production of wool or subsistence crops. The migrants continued to cultivate subsistence crops and herd sheep, thereby investing time and resources in the pre-plantation diet and dress.

Our primary concern heré is with the relation of education to socio-cultural change following the second decade of the twentieth century. The brief description of the Soconusco prior to 1910 delineates the main outlines of the social system into which schools were introduced. While there was no armed fighting in the piedmont during the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), the effects of this major social movement were felt in three ways by the plantation peons. First, the system of debt peonage which had bound particular workers to particular plantations was modified by the elimination of "debt books"; nonetheless, other mechanisms of peon bondage were retained. Secondly, free and universal primary education for all Mexicans was mandated by the post-revolutionary Constitution; any population center with more than 20 school-age children would be required to have a school.

Third, agrarian reform legislation eventually brought about the expropriation of coffee lands from plantation owners and its granting to former peons.

The education and agrarian changes were both resources introduced by the national political structure into the local political environment. Schools were installed in most plantations in the mid-1920's; the government required plantation owners to underwrite the costs of building and maintaining the school with its teacher. Schools were much slower to penetrate the rural areas of the highlands in the Soconusco. Agrarian reforms were introduced during the second half of the 1930's, and were inextricably linked to the educational reforms. The following analysis takes up the case of one particular plantation in the Soconusco region, known as the "Finca San Jeronimo," as exemplary of changes in the region.

This plantation was one of eight large coffee plantations in the municipality of Union Juarez. In 1928, it had 570 hectares of land, 150 resident laborers, and one schoolteacher. The school was supported by the plantation owner, although he was assigned by the state Ministry of Education. There were two categories of laborers: managerial employees and field hands. The managerial employees were mostly poor ladinos from highland and coastal towns; the field hands were all recruited from highland villages. Informants nowadays differentiate these two categories by remarking that field hands were descalzos (barefoot) and the managers wore shoes.

The plantation school was, theoretically, open to all resident children; the normative rule of membership in the school was that all children on the

plantation were equally welcome to and expected to attend. In fact, there were very few female students and there were different average lengths of stay for the male children. The sons of field hands rarely stayed in school after age 8 or 9; the sons of managers usually finished primary school in their early teens. Sons of field hands, now in their fifties, recall that they were embarrassed to go to school without shoes, that it was difficult to afford the necessary supplies, and by the time they were old enough to wield a machete they were forced by necessity to work in the fields and supplement the family income. The pragmatic rule of school attendance, then, was that few women ever attended and few male field hands completed a school career. This differential access to the innovation of schooling was a result of the existing plantation political structure; an innovation that was supposed to be equally available to all children was in fact utilized differentially by different categories of children.

The relation of the school as an institution to other institutions in plantation society is of fundamental significance in understanding the agrarian reform changes that took place between 1938 and 1942. The school was the organizational focus for agrarian reform activities carried out by plantation workers. The schoolteacher took on the role of broker between workers and government; he was the advisor to workers in the formulation of petitions and the interpreter of national agrarian policy to the workers.

The following incident illustrates this aspect of the school's role:

An official of the national agrarian reform bureaucracy came to the plantation during 1939 to formulate the final petition for expropriation of land. Legal title to 226 hectares of land was provisionally given to 106 workers who had signed the petition. After occupying the land for two weeks, they were dispossessed by some legal maneuvers of the plantation owner. In early 1940, legal title was regained by the workers but they were reluctant to execute it because of the sanctions suffered after their earlier brief possession. In this situation, the following event took place, as described by a participant: 'In the last days of March it was seen that the coffee groves were burning in the section of land that had been expropriated. There was a teacher named Zoila Reyes who was very brave; she wore a gun and pants. She told us that it was our land. Where we going to let the patron burn it? So we all went to put the fire out. She went with us and by three in the morning we had done it. The next week we assembled in the schoolhouse and decided to take the land by force. That night we all got ready. Since we didn't have rifles we loaded our muskets with ramrods. That is how we started working our land, on the 11th of April.'

Most informants recall vividly the key role played by the schoolteacher in this event, providing the impetus for the workers to take possession of that portion of land which was legally theirs.

The schoolteacher's role here can only be understood in relation to national and regional political structures. The president of Mexico from 1934 to 1940 was Lazaro Cardenas, whose economic policies were the most radically socialist of post-revolutionary regimes. The agrarian reform program legislated in 1917 did not become a reality in the cash-crop areas of Mexico until his term. National education became politicized during his regime; teacher training schools were openly socialist, with a

conception of the teacher's role which was much broader than the introduction of literacy in Mexico's rural areas.

In the Soconusco region, the resources of the national government were mobilized to break the political and economic dominance of the region by the coffee planters. Teachers on plantations throughout the area assisted the agrarian bureaucrats by translating the reform program to plantation workers. The incident just described is one specific manifestation of this process; teachers are even now feared by plantation owners on occasion as introducers of "socialist" ideas.

The teacher's role as broker was not without risks, as the following case shows:

On the occasion of the second anniversary of their possession of land, the ejidatarios (ex-workers now holding expropriated land) met in a three-day celebration for which the teacher loaned the school building and cancelled classes. As a result, that week the plantation owner filed a formal complaint to the state education authorities saying that the school had been closed without authorization, that the teacher had allowed a 'communist' red and black flag to 'desecrate' the school flagstaff, and that the teacher allowed gambling and dancing to take place in the school building. A few months hence, the school teacher left the plantation at the behest of the education department.

One sees here the continued identification of the schoolteacher with the agrarian reform program, the opposition of the plantation owner, a conflict over control of the classrooms, and the relation of the local political structure to the state educational institutions. The transfer of the teacher reflects a shift in national politics for the 1941-1946 regime, characterized as a shift to the "right" by political historians. The local school as an

institution reflects the structure of national politics, successfully allying itself with the agrarian movement during the Cardenas regime but restrained from doing so in the following term.

The agrarian reforms carried out in the Soconusco were the most fundamental social changes since the establishment of coffee plantations in the late 19th century. Almost 50% of coffee land was expropriated and made into ejidos, independent agrarian reform communities owned by ex-workers. This redistribution of the most important resource in the area has determined the main contours of the contemporary socio-political system. The educational institution became the principal link between the ejido and the encapsulating political structure.

At San Jeronimo specifically, the ejidatarios built a new village located one mile away from the plantation center. The first public building was a school, which grew from a one-room wooden structure with one teacher in 1944 to a six-room block-and-cement building with three teachers in 1952. The ejido paid for the building and for teachers' houses; as a result, they were successful in a petition to the state to make this an "escuela de concentracion" -- a six-grade primary school serving the four neighboring ejidos. By 1962 there were six full-time teachers paid by the state residing in ejido-financed housing and teaching in locally-financed schoolrooms. In 1963, the ejido began to support a secondary school, the first in a municipality of 16,000 inhabitants. This school is now incorporated into the state system, which means that one-half its cost is underwritten by the state treasury. This secondary school is a source

of prestige for the ejido, as it is the only one in 100 ejidos to have its own.

The growth of the school as an institution parallels the development of the ejido. This particular ejido is known as a "model" in the Soconusco for its cooperative political structure and its economic prosperity. Its prosperity has enabled it to invest in the school, which has encouraged state corresponding investment, which has brought prestige to the community, and which enables ejido politicians to get more state patronage.

A wide range of socio-cultural changes have followed the events of the late 1930's. The basic change was the creation of a class of peasant farmers with a yearly income that is three to six times greater than that of maize farmers in the highland villages. Ethnic and class differences on the plantation have been submerged and in some areas erased by the ejido; the sons of managers and field hands are now virtually indistinguishable. The plantation field hand is remembered as a barefoot Indian who spoke Spanish badly, in contrast to the literate ejidatario with shoes who can read and write. 'Barefootness,' for whatever historical causes, is the most widely acknowledged emic indicator of ethnic status. The wearing of shoes is a barometer of social change. The shod, literate "mexicano" has replaced both the "indios" and "ladinos" of yesteryear.

The existence of a school in the Soconusco ejidos has cultural, political, and social implications. Schools are prized by local communities not only for the literacy they impart but for the prestige they provide. The normative rule is that all ejidos with 20 children will have schools of

their own; in the contemporary political structure of the state, they are a relatively scarce resource, as shown by the following case.

To demonstrate clearly and unambiguously the necessity of understanding the political structure within which a school is located, I will analyze the case of ejido "San Rafael" which is located to the north of "San Jeronimo". A lengthy description of the events in this case will provide the data for an analysis of the school as an institution among other social institutions. Fundamentally, this case has to do with the disparity between the normative rule of "free and universal education" for all rural Mexicans and the pragmatic rules of competition for school resources.

In 1942 Prof. Martiniano Rosales arrived at the ejido "San Rafael" to found an escuela communal, a school supported by the community. At the time, he had a post in a nearby state school. In 1951 Martiniano came to teach at the San Rafael elementary school with the financial support of the community. Between then and 1955 he attempted to 'federalize' the school, that is, to get designation for it as a federal school financed by federal funds. This attempt was unsuccessful. From 1955 to 1970 the escuela communal operated sporadically with various teachers, closed as often as it was open.

In April 1970 Martiniano again attempted to get federal designation for the school. The federal district school inspector told him that with a census of prospective pupils, a blueprint of the existing school building, and plans for a new one a federal school project would be approved. The Inspector promised to visit San Rafael on May 5 to receive these documents; when his visit didn't materialize, Martiniano sent the documents to the Inspector via the ejido president, who obtained a receipt for the documents.

On September 23, 1971 Martiniano visited the Inspector to inquire about the school. The Inspector said that teachers were not made of clay for him to

produce on demand. Martiniano reminded him of his 1970 promise; the Inspector said he needed certain documents such as a pupil census. Martiniano reminded the Inspector that these had been delivered more than a year earlier; when the Inspector denied this Martiniano produced the receipt.

After this incident there was a meeting of the San Rafael Parents' Association at which Martiniano suggested that the Inspector required a monetary 'gratification' (bribe) to act on the request. On October 11, 1971 the National Director of Primary Schools visited the ejido 'Once de Abril.' Martiniano was there for the occasion intending to present his request for a school directly to the National Director. When the entourage arrived with the Inspector, the Inspector's first action was to call Martiniano aside and inform him that the 'problem' had been resolved and there would be a federal teacher at San Rafael within a week.

On October 19 a young female teacher fresh from Normal School arrived at the Inspector's office for assignment; she was sent to San Rafael, which could be reached only by a three-hours' walk. She chose not to take the assignment. The President of the San Rafael Parents' Association visited the Inspector, who told him that the teacher had not wanted to go into the 'bush' and had 'pulled strings' to get reassigned to an urban school in Mexico City.

On October 29 the Parents' Association sent a telegram to the President of Mexico saying that for 30 years the ejido had supported an escuela communal and now wanted a federal teacher. A telegram was also sent to the National Director of the Education Department informing him that the assigned teacher had not shown up and requesting a replacement.

On Monday, November 1, the president of the ejido went to the state capital to the offices of the Education Department to try to resolve the problem; he returned and waited all day Tuesday and on Wednesday finally obtained an interview in the appropriate office. A state official consequently sent an order to the Inspector to assign another teacher, but was informed that a replacement had already been assigned. The ejido president was given a document with the teacher's name.

The following Friday the ejido president visited the Inspector who demanded to know why the ejido was defaming him with suggestions that he required a bribe.

The president showed him the document with the replacement's name. The Inspector reported that the young man had in fact come and had been assigned by the Inspector, that he had gone as far as the footpath and returned, and that it was not the Inspector's business to insure the arrival of the teacher at his post.

By November 15, the ejido San Rafael had a federal teacher and the primary school was officially opened.

This case provides a dramatic series of incidents which show the interplay of various political institutions concerned with rural primary education in Mexico. As Gluckman's case study of Zulu politics, it can be used to demonstrate various aspects of the socio-cultural system. The following analysis shows the various pragmatic strategies of actors in the case, and how the school and schoolteacher are a resource whose allocation is the subject of competition between various institutions in the socio-cultural milieu.

A brief description of the federal educational bureaucracy will place the roles of some of the actors in their structural context. The Secretaria de Educacion Publica has headquarters in Mexico City and is responsible for the vast educational system of the nation. Under the Director of the SEP are various assistant directors responsible for certain categories of SEP activity. One of these is Ernesto Guajardo Salinas, the National Director of Primary Schools; he paid the visit to the "Once de Abril" in October of 1971. At the state capital there is a branch of the federal bureaucracy that administers all Federal school programs in the state. Some 23 districts in the state are headed by Inspectors, who implement Federal policy at the local level. The Inspector's role is analogous to that of a District

Superintendent in the United States.

The district here described includes two municipalities; it has two town schools and 18 village schools, most of which are on ejidos.

Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution stipulates that any population center with 20 or more pupils must have an elementary school. Current educational policy in this area of Chiapas is that the Federal government supports teachers for rural schools, while the local community supplies a building and living quarters. In the 1958-64 Presidential period, there was a nationwide school building program in which the Federal government supplied prefabricated schools to any local community that would provide land and labor to construct them. This program is no longer in effect, and it didn't reach this particular district. In Bailey's terms, the educational bureaucracy is part of the encapsulating political structure. One of the normative prize rules in this structure is that there is "free and universal education" in all communities with more than 20 students. The case shows how the federal bureaucracy must be manipulated to achieve implementation of this rule.

Insofar as it affects the outcome of the case, the local political structure must be described and analyzed. There is a president of the Comisariado Ejidal (ejido executive committee) whose duties are to preside at ejido assemblies, to represent the ejido in transactions with outside agencies, and to supervise the operations of the local credit society. In actual practice, the role of the president as credit intermediary provides him with political power greater than that prescribed by agrarian legislation. Any ejido that

wishes to have its own school must organize a Sociedad de Padres de Familia or Parents' Association.

San Rafael has a factional political structure that operates within the context of the legal charter of organization. These factions compete for control of ejido offices and credit power. The first faction in San Rafael is led by Martiniano and his son Ruperto; the ejido president during the time of this case was an adherent of this faction. One of the leaders of the second faction is Eusebio Grajales the President of the Parents' Association. At the moment, the first faction has control of the most important political institutions in the ejido. The activities of Martiniano and the Parents' Association president must be understood in the context of factional competition.

Martiniano Rosales is a representative of a class of pioneering rural teacher-entrepreneurs in Chiapas. During the late '30's and the '40's the demand for teachers far outstripped the supply of normal school graduates, especially in remote rural areas. Many individuals parlayed a third-grade education into teaching careers during this period, yet these positions became increasingly insecure as more qualified teachers appeared on the scene. Martiniano had held office as municipal president from 1948 to 1950 in the municipality in which San Rafael is located. From this position of political power he had obtained control of a parcel of ejido land in San Rafael, where he settled in 1951. He had lost his post as teacher in a nearby school in early 1951 as a result of a political dispute which found him on the losing side, with the Inspector of Schools on the winning side.

Since then he has lived in San Rafael, working for some time as a teacher but more recently as a credit inspector for the local government bank. His attempts from 1951 to 1955 to achieve federal status for his school were also meant to insure a federal salary for himself.

Thus, the first period of San Rafael's school can only be analyzed with reference to other political institutions and personnel. It was founded by a teacher-entrepreneur who wished to turn it into a sinecure for himself; it was the role of this teacher as municipal politician that enabled him to introduce himself to the community and his alliance with a losing political faction at the state level that stymied his early efforts to achieve federal status for the school. This last point is a result of the fact that the local Inspector who was his political rival was the bureaucrat whose assistance was needed in the effort to achieve federal status.

Martiniano's renewed effort in 1970 came about because of a campaign visit by a Senatorial candidate to a nearby ejido. The campaign was not one to garner votes, as he was a designee of Mexico's official party -- the PRI. Rather, these tours are the occasions on which local politicians can present their requests for patronage before the Senator. The Inspector (by now a different individual) accompanies the Senatorial candidate on the tours, in order to deal with educational requests.

The Inspector's promise to Martiniano on the occasion of this tour can be explained by analyzing a complex set of circumstances. After the election takes place a shift in the entire patronage network of the nation and the state will take place. Some bureaucrats will ascend, others will

stay in the same position, and some will lose their posts. The fate of bureaucrats in any of the federal departments is tied to the political fortunes of their allies in elective posts. The Senator on this tour will represent this area of Chiapas on the National Senate; he will exercise much influence on the appointment of bureaucrats in his district. For the Inspector to retain his post, he must be "in" with the Senator; by providing public support and assistance on the electoral tour the Inspector attempts to cement a link with the Senatorial candidate. He must show that he is able to deal with educational problems efficiently while the candidate is present; thus, his promise to Martiniano to solve San Rafael's lack of a teacher. Not surprisingly, Martiniano is aware of these circumstances and presents his request at this opportune moment.

The bureaucratic requirements for establishing a school are normatively very simple--to demonstrate that the conditions of Article 123 can be met. The fact that San Rafael with an average population of 50 school children has for years not had a school shows that there are other mechanisms in operation. That the promised school did not materialize within the 16 months that followed the Senator's visit is one example of the hazards of the existing system for handling political requests. The Inspector may promise anything while the Senator is around, but promptly forget it in his absence. Not infrequently rural politicians wait for promised visits that don't materialize, as is the case in the Inspector's May 5 non-visit.

A renewed attempt to get a schoolteacher in September of 1971 was also related to local-level political maneuvering. The President of the municipality in which San Rafael is located had obtained a September 27 audience with the state Governor; he invited other local politicians to accompany him to the capital and present requests to the Governor. Thus, one ejido was requesting a feeder branch to the highway, two were seeking state assistance in construction of a park, and two were seeking establishment of schools. Martiniano was given a letter commissioning him as the ejido president's representative to the Governor for requests of a school, a basketball court, and a drainage system. These patronage requests were approved by the Governor at the meeting, with agreements for community assistance.

It was after the Governor's promise and after his visit to the reluctant state Inspector in September that Martiniano suggested at a meeting of San Rafael's Parents' Association that the Inspector needed a "gratificacion" (bribe) to induce him to act. In fact, the year before, the neighboring ejido of Desenlace had paid \$5,000 (\$400, U.S. dollars) to the Inspector after which they were assigned a teacher. This was known to San Rafael politicians and to the director of the school at the Once de Abril who was assisting Martiniano in his efforts. Thus, Martiniano was acting on known precedent when he suggested the necessity of an emolument for the Inspector.

The following incident in this case was brought on by the unrelated visit of Guajardo, the SEP Primary Schools Director. This is one of some

infrequent inspections to remote areas made by such a high-level bureaucrat. It presented an unparalleled opportunity for Martiniano to present his request to a very powerful bureaucrat. Consequently he arrived at the meeting place very early; prior to the arrival of Guajardo I overheard him planning with the local school director the best method of obtaining a private interview with Guajardo. They agreed that Martiniano would have that opportunity during a small banquet to be presented by the school to the officials.

I observed and photographed the occasion of Guajardo's visit. Analysis of the photographs demonstrates a complex sequence of events. While the visiting dignitaries were lining up to do honors to the flag, Martiniano began to walk toward Guajardo; he was intercepted by the Inspector who motioned to him to join him on the rostrum, where they had a brief whispered conversation. In a later interview I discovered that the Inspector had informed him that the problem was resolved. Thus, the Inspector accomplished several goals with this maneuver. He prevented Martiniano from bypassing him to see his superior. He prevented his superior from learning of a problem that might demonstrate the Inspector's incompetence or inefficiency. By asking him to come by side at the flag ceremony, the Inspector would make observers assume that Martiniano was an ally of his.

A week after Guajardo's visit, the designated teacher arrived and left without announcing herself at San Rafael, because she preferred not to take a post in the "bush". The seniority system operating in this and

other districts leaves the more undesirable posts in small, isolated communities to junior teachers and the positions in town schools to the most senior teachers. There is a scale of increasing status and desirability for teaching posts. San Rafael would be at the bottom of the scale not only because of its remoteness but also because the newness of the school meant that there would not be a system of reciprocal obligations established between teacher and village. That is, the new teacher would have to struggle to build up the provision of services by the village (firewood, maid, and other gifts); these perquisites of the teaching position would already exist in an established school. The small size of San Rafael would also make it difficult for the teacher to carry out educational projects which build up status and become the basis for promotion. In essence, as one teacher put it to me, San Rafael "has no possibilities."

The strategy of sending telegrams to the President of Mexico and the Director of the SEP may seem unwarranted for such a small problem. It might be interpreted as an example of the ideology of "caudillismo" which makes followers seek direct access to the top leader for the smallest problem. In fact, it is used as a device to put pressure on local level bureaucrats and to prove to one's own political constituents that one is attempting to solve a problem. In fact, at a meeting of the local Parents' Association its president read this telegram with an explicit explanation that this was to show he had been at work on the case. Eusebio, the association president, was a political rival of Martiniano's in the local community; he was responding to suggestions

that he had done nothing while Martiniano was busily struggling to get a schoolteacher.

The next major incident in the case came as a result of the ejido president's trip to the state capital to hear the annual Governor's report. He took advantage of the trip to seek an appointment with the state education officials to request a replacement for the no-show teacher. When he was informed that the replacement had been assigned, he returned to San Rafael.

The following account of the ejido president's meeting with the Inspector on the Friday after his return is taken from his report to an assembly at San Rafael:

He (the Inspector) got very mad and treated me badly, asking me who I thought I was. Somebody told him that here in a meeting we had said that we were going to send money to the Inspector to get our teacher, so the Inspector said to me 'What do I need your money for?' I didn't say anything, just gave him the document with the replacement's name. He said that this boy had come a week ago but walked as far as San Jeronimo and came back because he didn't like the looks of it. The Inspector said, 'I saw him a few days later here in the streets of town but didn't say anything to him because that is not what I am here for; later I asked somebody who told me that the boy had left, so therefore I have no teacher to give you'. The Inspector just is trying to deceive me. I asked him about the money and he said he would tell me later; therefore I don't know who is spreading this gossip.

The Inspector told me that the ejido Desenlace waited two years to get its teacher so we can wait too; when they got their teacher, the Inspector said, 'they left me an envelope which I later opened and found 800 pesos in. I hurried out into the street and shouted where is the man from Desenlace, so that I could return the money. But he was gone. I put it in their folder

and next time they came I tried to return it but they begged me not to, that it was for my beers. To avoid offending them I had to take the money'.

The president's account of the Inspector's money story was greeted with great merriment by his audience; one person remarked aloud that "what the Inspector wants is money." Yet the pattern of presenting emoluments for a bureaucrat's "beers" is widespread as a political tactic; all sorts of governmental matters are expedited in this way. The ejido San Rafael decided at this meeting to resort to this tactic; two weeks later they had their teacher.

This case shows the various strategies employed by local politicians of the ejido San Rafael in their attempt to obtain a teacher. Pressure from the encapsulating political environment was brought to bear on the Inspector during the visit of a Senatorial candidate and during a visit from a national educational bureaucrat. Finally, ejido politicians seek to enlist the assistance of the state Governor and of state educational officials. The obstacles posed by the failure of two assigned teachers to occupy their posts are overcome by more political maneuvering and finally by the use of monetary inducement with the Inspector.

The case clearly demonstrates the close relation of school politics to other local, state and national political institutions. Educational policy and action cannot be analyzed sui generis, but only in its relation to the other institutions in the socio-cultural milieu. The normative rule of schooling for every community with over 20 children is violated for a long period of time. It requires complex political maneuvers by local politicians to

obtain a teacher. This teacher becomes a resource which is sought by the local politicians, which is controlled at the local level by the Inspector, and for which the local politicians must enlist the aid of other political institutions.

The importance of utilizing social anthropological theory in the analysis of this case is that one must understand the structure of politics as well as its content. One must understand that local politicians not only value education as a thing in itself, but are motivated to obtain a teacher for their village in order to provide a service for their own constituents; thus, the two factions are sometimes at cross purposes in the negotiation for a teacher as they both wish to claim credit for trying to get a teacher. One must also understand the structure of the educational bureaucracy and its relation to other political institutions in order to explain the events attendant upon the visits of Senators and educational bureaucrats alike.

The analysis up to this point has dealt with various aspects of education and change in the Soconusco piedmont. In summary, a combination of ecological and economic factors resulted in the creation of coffee plantations, which transformed one segment of the Indian population into a working proletariat and embraced a larger segment of that population as seasonal migrants. Similarly fundamental changes were introduced with the redistribution of resources in the agrarian reforms, which transformed plantation proletariat and managers into a rural, "mexican" ejidatario class of peasant-farmers. The school as an institution responded to and

facilitated structural and cultural changes after agrarian reform, but was itself an epiphenomenon of the national political movements. Schools were and are resources which accomplish various functions which cannot be analyzed without reference to the wider socio-cultural milieu.

The contrast of the Soconusco with the highlands of the interior of the state, the Altos de Chiapas region, is especially instructive. The two regions are contiguous geographically and have been closely linked economically since the turn of the century. The Altos region is one of contemporary Mexico's most sharply ethnically differentiated areas. Around a metropolitan center inhabited by ladinos are 20 Indian communities, with distinctive dress, dialect, and demeanor. This area has been extensively and intensively studied by Mexican and American anthropologists for the past three decades. An excellent analytical survey was done by Stavenhagen, to which the reader is referred for a detailed analysis. The following account briefly describes it in order to facilitate the contrasting analysis of education in the Altos and the Soconusco regions.

The Indian villages are dispersed settlements of swidden maize growers. A mixed subsistence economy supplements the maize with beans, some vegetable crops, and sheep husbandry. These villages are linked to the metropolis of San Cristobal through economic exchanges; Indians sell corn and vegetables in the market and purchase trade goods at ladino stores. In addition, there is some craft specialization in some of the communities; thus, the village of Amatenango specializes in the production of pottery,

the village of Zinacantan specializes in the production of anthropological informants, the village of Tenejapa produces cloth.

Various analytical schema have been applied to the Altos region. Local ladinos view the system as one where two races, the Maya and the Spanish, live side by side. The traditional anthropological view sees the two ethnic groups coexisting in a symbiotic way. Another anthropological model sees it as a rural-urban dichotomy. Stavenhagen reviews these approaches and argues in favor of a model of class relations for the entire area.

The analysis of the region's class system rests on the overriding difference between ladinos as market producers and Indians who produce primarily for subsistence and for the maintenance of traditional politico-religious ceremonies. The ladinos accumulate capital, Indians invest in subsistence and ceremonial. The ladino is most often an employer of labor while the Indian most often offers his own labor for wages.

There is a historical continuity in the dominance of the ladino metropolis over the periphery of the Altos region. The city of San Cristobal as market center was the instrument of the Spanish colonial regime's dominance and remains the instrument of domination in what has been called the "internal colonialism" of Mexico.

Stavenhagen reviews the dynamics of inter-ethnic stratification through various period. In colonial society, the Indian was part of a labor reserve for haciendas and encomiendas. Ethnic discrimination, political dependence, social inferiority, residential segregation, economic

subjugation, and juridical incapacity are all part of the constellation of attributes of the Indian's colonial situation. Class separation and antagonism was sharpened with the advent of Soconusco coffee plantations as more and more of the Indian communities of the Altos were drawn into the labor pool. This process was halted or ameliorated in some instances with the agrarian reform program. Indian communities that had lost their territorial bases to the plantations in the highlands were in some cases able to regain them during the 1930's. However, some communities fared more poorly than others, viz. the contrast of Chamula and Zinacantan.

The traditional approach to socio-cultural change in these Indian communities is to analyze acculturation or ladinization, the adoption of ladino cultural elements by the Indians. Utilizing this framework, it becomes difficult to explain the persistent conservatism of the Indian, his rejection of ladino culture despite continued contact with it. Pozas explains this phenomenon for migrant Indian laborers by their unfavorable exposition to ladino culture; that is, the Indian is used and abused by ladino employers and merchants and thus unlikely to accept cultural elements that they introduce. Yet, in fact, there is a selective acceptance of certain aspects of ladino culture.

If one shifts the analytical focus, abandoning an acculturation model, the problem can be seen as a process of allocation of time and resources to certain ends. The Indian devotes his time and resources primarily to the production of maize, within an ecological setting that permits swidden maize agriculture and for the most part precludes such fundamental innovations

as the plow. The Indian invests his labor in sheep husbandry and the growing of vegetable crops. A great number of Indian customs can be understood only in relation to these activities and the regional market system. Thus, the decision to wear Indian or ladino clothing is not fundamentally a symbolic act, but an outcome of the investment of Indian resources in sheep husbandry and the making of wool for Indian clothes. The Indian invests his time and resources in the production of his own dress; the alternative of selling his wool and purchasing factory clothes would involve an economic loss for the Indian. Clothing is the emic indicator par excellence of ethnic status; yet it must be viewed as a correlate of the Indian mode of production. Cultural elements are accepted or rejected not by a superorganic whim or by symbolic choice but according to their utility within this framework of resource allocation.

In the Soconusco piedmont, the introduction of plantations radically altered the economic and ecological bases of Indian highland villages. There has been no equivalent transformation of the Altos region. This fundamental ecological and economic contrast must be kept in mind in a comparison of the two regions.

What can be said about the role of education in the Indian villages of the Altos de Chiapas? The ideology of education in Mexico's Indian areas has often been characterized as one of indigenismo, which celebrates the Indian as the true basis of rural society. At the core of this ideology is the belief in a simple agrarian economy with linkage of the primitive and modern. The curriculum of Indian schools is seen as one that should stress agriculture,

crafts, the native language, and other skills which would improve the positions of Indians. Education would be an aspect of a social reform program whose goal it is to incorporate the Indian into the nation. As Ramon Eduardo Diaz has pointed out, proponents of this ideology have only held power in Mexico during the Cardenas regime. Schools run by the national education department have for the most part attempted to "mexicanize" the Indian, utilizing Spanish as a medium of instruction and imparting traditional academic skills. Some schools in the Altos region are run by the INI (Bureau of Indian Affairs) with instruction in the native language.

A recent anthropological analysis by Modiano attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of Indian schools in the Altos region, in their attempts to introduce cultural change. As she puts it:

The avowed purpose of the schools is to Mexicanize the Indians, to bring them into the mainstream of national life. In prevailing Highland terms this means giving them the ladino orientation and sense of identification with Mexican life. It also means giving them ladino skills for relating effectively to the national culture. (Modiano 1973: 136)

In her answer to the question of the Indian's response to schools Modiano analyzes the style of Indian education with its values and attitudes; these are contrasted with the attitudes toward education of the national school-teachers and school system. She isolates two factors in the Indian style of education:

... (1) With sufficient practice at tasks that are an intrinsic part of the family's activities, the child is expected to become accustomed to his work, and

(2) children are given considerable leeway, even encouragement to explore the world around them... This attitude toward education contrasts strongly with ladino styles of child rearing and education... expect(ing) children to learn from intrinsically meaningless tasks (and). .. includ(ing) them as passive observers... (Modiano 1973:137)

Modiano concludes that this difference explains why little acculturation takes place in the schools and that only those who leave home take any major steps toward acculturation.

The principal difficulty with Modiano's analysis is that it views social behavior as an outcome of customs or cultural values, rather than the outcome of a system of allocation of time and resources. Indians allocate their time and resources to the household and village mixed subsistence economy. Indians introduce their children to tasks that are "an intrinsic part of the family's activities" not because this is a cherished value in their style of education but because child labor is an important aspect of the family resource allocation. The child does important tasks because he has an important role in the household economy and not merely because Indians think this is how children learn. The lack of acculturation is a result of the permanence of the Indian mode of production; thus, the fact that Indians must leave their homes and villages entirely to become "mexicans" shows that this is a fundamental transformation, not a piecemeal adoption of customs.

This critique of Modiano's analysis is supported by her assessment of the Indian's view of the school as a means of acquiring literacy and a knowledge of Spanish as a means of self-defense. These skills are seen to be useful in

commercial dealings with ladinos. Thus, to the extent that schools enhance the Indian's ability to deal with merchants they are able to attract and maintain pupils.

To summarize: the national educational system has failed to introduce major socio-cultural change in the Altos region because it is not congruent with Indian allocation of time and resources and because the Indian mode of production must be transformed in order to produce socio-cultural change. This stands in clear contrast to the Soconusco region. I argue that given a common national educational system in both regions, the variable that explains the difference in socio-cultural changes is the ecological and economic contrast of plantation and swidden systems of production. This illustrates our introductory assertion that the educational system should be analyzed in its structural relation to the socio-cultural milieu. Schools are valued as a resource and effective political institutions in the Soconusco, as the analysis showed; the limited value of schools for Altos Indians is explained by the Indian mode of production.

The introductory assertion in this paper was that education must be analyzed with a theoretical framework from social anthropology which takes into account the structure of social relations as well as their content. A perspective which sees social systems as the aggregate pattern of time and resource allocation has been applied to two ecological zones in Chiapas, in an attempt to explain the relation of the educational system to socio-cultural change. It is not argued that cultural values have no bearing on social and educational change, but that explanatory primacy rests in the pattern of

resource allocation within a specific ecological framework.

Both the Soconusco and the Altos de Chiapas have had primary education since the late 1920's. Yet the economic, social and ideological aspects of the culture of the Indians from the Altos area remains essentially unchanged. While it may seem that the explanation lies in the incompatibility of opposing value systems from education and indigenous systems, I have attempted by comparison and through the use of a social anthropological framework to show otherwise. The conservatism of the Indians and the openness to change in the Soconusco are outcomes of different systems of adaptation within different ecological settings.

Yet the analysis does not simply try to explain differences between regions. In the case of the Soconusco, I have tried to analyze the relation of education to other social institutions by using various concepts from social anthropology; I have also tried to show how educational policy is shaped by the national and local political structure, by using concepts from political anthropology. Prior to the initiatives for agrarian reform, education had little effect on the plantations. The alliance of education to the agrarian reform program resulted from the dependence of both on the national political system. Educational resources were deployed strategically by the Cardenas regime to assist in the agrarian reform program. In the post-Cardenas reaction, plantation owners were able to reassert some control over local education. Contemporary educational policy is intimately linked to the local-level political structure, as the analysis of San Rafael's case shows. The education system in the Soconusco has been shaped by the

changing socio-cultural milieu through these historical periods.

In his cogent analysis of education and social stratification in Bolivia, Comitas points out that there are two functions which education may assume in society:

The first and most significant function (of education) is to maintain and facilitate the existing social order . . . In a number of relatively rare cases, the function of education is revolutionary in nature--to promote and secure the restructuring of a given society.

The Mexican case is often considered an instance of the latter, revolutionary mode of education. In the case of Soconusco, education did in fact for a period of time "promote and secure the restructuring of . . . society," albeit as part of a more general process of transformation. Patterns of stratification, ethnic identity, and cultural patterns did change as a result of agrarian reform; education as an institution reflected and promoted the process of change. In the case of the Altos de Chiapas, education has not been revolutionary in nature but reflects and helps to perpetuate the existing ethnic differentiation and economic stratification of the region. The educational system has little impact on the majority of Indian children and manages to siphon off the few students who do become "acculturated."

This paper suggests that the changes in the social system of two rural regions of Chiapas result from the interaction of the local ecological system and national influences. Education is analyzed as one aspect of a national policy which has shifted from one historical era to another. In the contemporary period, education mirrors the structure of national, local and regional politics. It remains to be shown how the content of national educational

policy is used to shape and manipulate the ideology of individuals in those regions of Mexico where education has effectively taken root in the local social system. This is perhaps the true function of the present educational system.

NOTES

1. The village of Zinacantan has corn land in "hot" country as well as the "cold" country where the village is located. Some Zinacantecos travel back and forth throughout the year tending both areas. See Cancian 1965.
2. One planter's view of the Indian's purported idleness is shown in the following statement from a government report of 1871:
"It cannot be denied that there are many men in the pueblos of this department who should be wage laborers, but they spend their time uselessly caring for 10 cuerdas of corn, one of banana, and fed with weeds they then sleep in peace, under the guarantee given them by the first part of the Article 5 of the 1857 Constitution of the Republic."

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ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH: A REPORT
ON FEDERAL AGENCY PROGRAMS, POLICIES AND ISSUES

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Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education
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and in writing the report.

Over the last decade there has been a steadily increasing interest among educators in anthropology and particularly in the use of field methods in educational research. To a considerable extent, this interest grows out of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which pushed education, and consequently the research which informs it, into a concern with cultural as well as individual differences. To some extent it is the result of dissatisfaction among the clients of educational research who tend to see traditional educational research paradigms as abstractions from the reality of the everyday life of schools. This interest also results, however, from the growing sophistication of educational researchers themselves as they begin to explore methodologies other than those which developed during education's long and incestuous relationship with psychology. This new interest, however, is not without problems. The demands which are being placed on anthropology by educators are major ones and in many cases they include expectations of problem solution and educational utility which are unrealistic given the current level of development of anthropological involvement in educational research. At the same time, the recency of educational interest in anthropology and the long tradition of dominance over educational research by educational psychologists has produced a research and development climate which is not oriented to the style and pace of ethnographic studies. Finally, the relative recency of interest in educational research by anthropologists has not allowed sufficient time for systematic development of theory and methods in educational anthropology itself.

Despite these problems, and a number of less obvious ones, interest in anthropology continues to grow in education and, as a result, a number of important policy questions for both educators and anthropologists are now emerging. While it is customary to pose these questions in terms of programs of research they actually fall at every step of the research-decision making-policy formulation-implementation and evaluation continuum which is the basis for educational innovation and change. Thus, the uses to which anthropological data will be put, the means by which it will be assessed and evaluated, the effects it may have on education and on social policy, and the results of all of this on the discipline of anthropology itself are of equal importance.

Early in the Spring of 1974 we interviewed a number of program specialists and managers in various agencies in the federal government which have a concern with education in an attempt to uncover what place anthropology holds in their research programs, what issues and problems seem to have emerged or are impending in this experience, and what they see as potential applications of anthropology in their mandated areas of concern. In presenting some of the results of these interviews in this report we have chosen to first describe the current status of anthropology in a number of educational or education-related research programs in the federal government and then to describe what the policy issues seem to be. We also elected to deal with the area of evaluation as separate from research both because we feel it presents different issues and because it is placing more urgent and widespread demands on the discipline.

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While we have characterized the interest of educators in anthropology as of fairly recent origin, there has been some interest in anthropology for a number of years. The National Defense Education Act of 1958, for example, brought considerable interest in area studies as a means of preparing students as area specialists. It is interesting, however, that this had to be justified to the Congress as part of the Cold War preparations for military defense. Historically, aid to education and consequently funding for research intended to improve education has always had to be "categorized." The traditional Congressional distaste for general aid to education has been reflected in the need to present research programs in very specific, problem-oriented packages. Thus, when the Cooperative Research Act of 1964, the "discretionary" research program out of which all subsequent Office of Education and National Institute of Education research programs have grown was first established, three-fourths of its available monies were "ear-marked" by the Congress for research on the education of the mentally retarded. In the mid-1960's, however, largely as a result of the fact that the then-new National Science Foundation was making considerable progress in the area of curriculum development (and attracting considerable Congressional notice as a result) while the Office of Education was doing little more than dispensing money along formula-grant, nondiscretionary lines, OE decided to try some new "focused" research programs. Again because of its concern for Congressional suspicion of general aid, however, the new programs had to be constructed around categorical areas of educational concern. One of

these was called "Project Social Studies" and had the avowed purpose of improving the teaching of social studies in the public schools. Under this rubric a small research program on the Culture of Schools was funded by OE's Cooperative Research Program in 1964 as a means of attracting anthropologists to the study of education. It was from this modest beginning that current programs in both the Office of Education and the National Institute of Education, which has taken over most of the Office's research functions, have grown. Other agencies such as the National Institutes of Health and the National Science Foundation have come to an interest in educational anthropology through a different route as a result of their interest in anthropology as part of their mandated areas of concern rather than a direct concern with education. Here again the interest in anthropology and education is both recent and indistinct in focus.

Even today, anthropological involvement in federal educational research program planning is more a matter of potentiality than actuality. Dozens of divisions and offices within at least six different agencies have expressed interest in the possibility of anthropological proposals concerning educational problems. Some of these offices have already funded anthropological research, but not on education; others have concerned themselves with educational issues, but not from an anthropological perspective or methodology. Only a few (compared to the more extensive involvement in evaluation areas) have actually had proposals from educational anthropologists up to this time. A number of these have been funded. Anthropologists seem to have been minimally successful in formulating their proposals, and rather late in

exploring the governmental funding structure, so that at present the National Institute of Education (the most obvious source of funds) is glutted with a multitude of proposals (as a result of announcing a special program to encourage anthropologists to apply) but now finds that it can fund only a small fraction. To some extent this results from drastic budget cuts but it also represents NIE's new image as a relatively unrestricted source of funding for Educational Anthropology. Most of these other funding sources require more closely specified relations of research or programs to topical areas included in their mandates.

In this report we consider six agencies -- the National Institute of Education, the United States Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, the Public Health Service, and the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities -- as sources of funds for Educational Anthropology. Within each of these agencies we detail several of the departments and other subunits and their particular interests. In all cases we shall report on whatever examples of previous involvement of educational anthropologists the agencies reported. In addition, we have noted several suggestions of the sorts of research projects which might be applicable to the mandates and of interest to the staffs of these departments. Throughout the report we take the position that it is the responsibility of anthropologists to convince the government agencies and the public of their relevance and usefulness so that other federal project administrators will not make the statement one did during our interviews: "Well I don't think we'd have much use for anthropologists. You see, our office is concerned with matters of public policy."

National Institute of Education

This is already the best known and most general of the agencies now showing an interest in the anthropological study of education. The NIE is, briefly, the agency holding the primary responsibility for basic research in education within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under a reorganization now in progress,* prospects for anthropological studies exist primarily with two offices: Programs and Research. The Office of Programs is primarily concerned with programs for Experimental Schools (administered by Robert Binswanger), Education and Work, formerly Career Education (administered by Corinne Rieder) and Education Vouchers (administered by Dennie Doyle). Within these areas, anthropologists have been employed primarily in evaluation programs (discussed elsewhere in this report) and this would seem likely to continue to be their major area of utility here. There are, however, other possibilities. It is quite possible, for example, that an anthropologist could interest the Assistant Director for Education Vouchers in a project considering the relation of culture to the attitudes of various communities and groups toward voucher proposals. This would be a potentially important area to consider as groundwork research, prior to actual implementation studies yet at present such considerations only turn up in post hoc evaluations. In addition, the Office of Programs includes areas of interest in productivity and technology, problem solving and multi-cultural education. Some input from anthropologists into the multicultural

*The reorganization should be complete by July 1, 1974.

programs of NIE has already taken place and more can be anticipated.

Projects in the NIE multicultural/multilingual program include the formation of consortia of practitioners, researchers and minority representatives to guide research and development, and research into the "learning differences and needs" of children within such blanket classifications as Black, white, Spanish-speaking or Oriental. NIE's major thrust here will be a survey of selected subgroups, but is not bound to limit its inquiries to survey research. Efforts will also be made to extend knowledge of the (in)adequacy of standardized tests for various populations. It should, of course, be noted (and still needs to be explained) that psychologists are not the only researchers with a competency to explore issues relating to cultural values and biases.

The problem-solving rubric refers to NIE's effort to understand the factors which affect and effect change and improvement in the elementary and secondary schools, and the ways in which schools in fact operate. It is hoped that the researches being undertaken in these areas will produce materials and reports to give teachers and administrators better understanding of their own schools, and to help formulate models which give better ideas of how to go about organizational change. Anthropological research has already been conducted -- some with NIE funding -- which focuses on these very issues of the social organization of schools (in one phrasing). Not only in-school research but also research into school-community relations is a part of the NIE's priority statement here. This section also includes the Unusually Effective Schools Program which is set up to identify the best elementary and secondary schools -- particularly in low income areas -- and

to study them in an effort to discover the reasons for their success. Again, this is an area in which rigorous anthropological research on a small scale can effectively complement larger scale inquiry.

Anthropologists might consider the possibility of the application of their skills to the productivity and technology areas as well. The issue of relating anthropological methodology to an area traditionally the domain of other disciplines is important here. Anthropological methods are by no means completely incompatible with those of sociology, economics or the administrative sciences even when, as here, they focus on quantitative analytic techniques and similar methodologies. Many program administrators still have a picture of the anthropologist as inevitably a lone explorer trekking through soggy marshes or steaming jungles. It is incumbent on the profession to make a point to specify to such agencies just exactly what it is that we do. In addition, we should remember that most persons concerned with the administration of educational research have been trained to think in terms of numbers -- whether test scores or reliability coefficients. Although some anthropologists may present both, most present neither. Much of the possible usefulness of anthropology as a distinct field (in perspective and methodology) comes in (or from) the use of participant observation techniques. While such observation may produce quantifiable data, its main gain is not there, and may not be in "quality" either. Rather, anthropologists tend to see their disciplinary position as standing between large scale macro-sociological inquiries and psychological studies of the individual. The anthropologist is often able to offer a

uniquely integrative perspective on both. In this way, he is in a not dissimilar position to that of the educator, who must take account of both individuals and their cultural milieu and social situations. Yet much of this is still unknown or at least unclear in Washington.

The Office of Research acts very much as its title implies, as the general overseer for extramural research funded by NIE, and for a small intramural research program as well. It includes the former Offices of Research Grants and Research and Exploratory Studies. The Office is headed by Arthur Wise, and under the reorganization will be broken up into a Fellows Program, and the Divisions of Basic Studies, Policy Studies, Essential Skills and Teaching and Curriculum. Opportunities for anthropologists are present in all of these areas, although different issues arise with each. In the teaching and curriculum section anthropologists would be most likely to work (if NIE continues its present definition of anthropological utility) on either evaluation or research studies on the factors which contribute to teacher performance in different sorts of situations, and with different kinds of student populations. In addition, there is an experimental curriculum focus on children's planning of their own educational goals. The issue for anthropologists to confront here, as elsewhere, is that they are not viewed as practitioners of a research methodology yielding solid data on the performance of either programs or categories of individuals. Even where anthropology is seen as helpful in evaluation studies, it is frequently viewed as a way to obtain information on (and perhaps help sort out) the idiosyncratic elements of the situation under investigation. It remains necessary for

anthropologists to demonstrate that their techniques can develop data of broader application than individual instances and exceptions since, obviously, the methodology is not so limited. Anthropological inquiries may extend to fairly large scale multiple-instance comparative studies or may formulate extensive data at a more specific level of focus. Although anthropological use of statistics is still in its infancy, anthropologists using quantitative techniques may be able to make significant contributions, especially by balancing for the tendency of social-statisticians to view the individual as always the irreducible unit of a statistical study. The unit may equally well and (assuming proper sampling and sample size) equally validly be entire organizations, sub-units of organizational structures, items of individual behavior or characteristics of interpersonal relationship. Focused observation by anthropologists may turn up specific behaviors exhibited by persons, say teachers, which may then be quantified and compared -- from day to day, from school to school, from subject to subject. Certain behaviors, or combinations of behaviors, may be found to be related to student performance, satisfaction or somnolence. It is an empirical question, with a methodology available, but seldom used, which would entertain an interested hearing at NIE.

The basic and policy studies of the NIE are both extra- and intramural. At present the representation of anthropologists on the NIE internal research staff is smaller than might be hoped; neither are there a large number of externally funded projects in this area compared to other disciplines. NIE grants already made to anthropologists have a variety of different foci

for projects ranging from ethnographies of schools to studies of classrooms as social units and the attempted development of synthetic theoretical statements. The fiscal 1974 extramural grants competition was a victim of NIE's severe budget constraints and was cut from ten to five million dollars, and limited to "research directly applicable to the five priority areas." These are: "Providing of essential skills to all citizens; Improving productivity in the education system; Understanding and improving the relationship of education and work; Developing problem solving capability in education systems at the State and local level; and Understanding and developing means of accommodating the diverse education needs and preferences of various groups and individual children." The Basic Studies division is divided into several areas, which are: individual processes; institutional effects; measurement and methodology; social influences; and handicapped. More than two thousand applications were fielded for the reduced amount of funds, and anthropologists will suffer, no doubt, along with everyone else. Most anthropological research falls into the first, second and fourth of the basic studies areas.

One of the issues which anthropologists have to face when applying for these NIE funds is that they are less well known than other social science disciplines, and so must take extra effort to explain the details of the methodology to be pursued. To some extent, this necessity is not only the product of anthropology's public "low profile" but also of the very diversity of the discipline which means that a tremendous number of topics and methodologies, often largely unrelated, are grouped into one discipline.

An example of the hurdles which anthropologists must overcome in applying for funds where the evaluation criteria are set up primarily in anticipation of a different sort of research proposal than anthropologists are likely to submit is provided by the following statement extracted from a "Request for Proposal" sent out by the NIE:

The evaluation of this research design will be based upon its general quality and comprehensiveness, including evidence of:

- 1) Appropriate and rigorous design representing a meaningful, generalizable, and adequate test of the conceptual model.
- 2) Adequate proposed sampling techniques.
- 3) Adequate proposed sample size.
- 4) Control groups where appropriate.
- 5) Proposed instrumentation.
- 6) Planned data collection procedures.
- 7) Plans for data preparation.
- 8) Proposed data analysis procedures, including statistical techniques. Rationale for selection of these procedures, including discussion of appropriateness of statistical measures for the types of data collected.

It is clear that this set of criteria is strongly biased in favor of statistical techniques. Even beyond that, the bias extends to those statistical techniques based on conventional sampling procedures. It can easily be argued that such a list does not give the latitude for consideration of an anthropological proposal (of typical dimensions) and that such a proposal could speak very pointedly to the issues, which in the case of this R.F.P. was models of sex discrimination in education. This argument could be extended to include the idea that no research which did not include some qualitative inquiry and in-depth observation or ethnomethodological data gathering would adequately cover the subject. In any event, the anthropologist is

currently faced with a situation in which he must raise these issues after the fact, that is, after the criteria have already been established. The anthropologist should indeed try to further the administrator's understanding of his techniques and their conceptual relevance, but he must also confront on an immediate level the issue of how to formulate his proposals so that they approach the problems as formally stated by the agency, but also make their point about the methods they propose. Anthropologists cannot enter into discussions at this level assuming anything to be taken for granted.

U. S. Office of Education

With the formation of the NIE, the U. S. Office of Education became a much more focused (and diminished) agency as regards its involvement in research activities. It continues to administer a great many programs in various areas of actual school operation, but is confined for the most part to limited "applied" as opposed to "basic" research activities. In the case of the Office of Education what this means is primarily that any research conducted must feed directly into the administration of programs for the delivery of educational services. This includes evaluation as well as development, but it does not generally include background research. There has been relatively little -- although still some -- involvement of anthropologists in the programs of OE under its current organization. Within OE there are several offices, centers, bureaus and institutes which administer a number of programs. We include here those programs in which it would seem there are various amounts of potential for anthropological involvement,

but will only go into any description for those which are either particularly representative or hold particular possibilities. It should be noted that with its applied emphasis, OE demands very specific proposals tying in with its ongoing programs. It is necessary to be extremely specific, in making an unsolicited proposal, in noting the way in which it relates to the priorities and programs of the office to which it is sent. Further, not all of the offices and bureaus are set up to administer extramural research as a major part of their activity. They may award a contract if there is a definite reason for it.

The Office of the Assistant Secretary for Education administers a discretionary fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (of which Virginia B. Smith is currently the director). The fund consists of approximately ten million dollars earmarked for the improvement of programs up to but not including the bachelor's degree (that is, associate's degrees and technical education, primarily). An anthropologist might, for example, research the relations between some of the postsecondary programs now in operation and cultural or community factors, which may contribute to their success or lack of it. Such a research should, however, be so designed that it would be likely to produce suggestions for implementation in the design or administration of such programs.

The Office of the Commissioner of Education includes both the Teacher Corps and the Office of Special Concerns, each of which may have specific and limited uses for anthropologists or anthropological research. Special Concerns includes African-American, Spanish Speaking and Student

and Youth Affairs offices, among others. Although these offices are not charged with initiating or superintending research about their topical areas, they are responsible for dealing with certain problems which may from time to time require the skills of anthropologists in their solution.

The five bureaus--Education for the Handicapped, Elementary and Secondary Education, Libraries and Learning Resources, Higher Education, and Occupational and Adult Education--each administer programs largely providing assistance to regional, state, and local educational organizations, and implement programs nationally. Within their specific charges, however, they develop a variety of needs which cannot be filled by their own personnel, and, on occasion, might be encouraged to perceive needs where they had not previously been aware of them. When they have identified a specific problem for which they wish to go outside the agency for research or implementation, notice is filed either in the Federal Register, in the case of grants, or in the Commerce and Business Daily, in the case of contracts. Copies of the notices are mailed to those individuals and/or institutions which are on the current mailing list of the office involved. Since, for the most part, anthropologists are not likely to be on these lists (and since they are pruned frequently to keep the size manageable) they may find it necessary to watch the respective publications for announcements, or to write to the offices which sound likely to be involved in the various areas of expertise, if they are to be aware of solicitations of applications.

The notices which are filed are phrased in typically thick bureaucratic prose, but are generally decipherable by the untrained eye with some effort.

We may take as an example of the sort of research required from time to time by these various offices a recent announcement from the Division of Vocational Education Research (Howard F. Hjelm, Director) of the Center for Adult, Vocational, Technical and Manpower Education in the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education. This solicitation noted the interest of the office in a variety of potential research projects which would fall into the categories Curriculum Studies; Disadvantaged, Handicapped, and Minority; Alternative Work Experience Programs; Guidance, Counseling, Placement, and Student Followup Services; and Manpower Information and System for Education. Opportunities for anthropological research to be of value seem to be quite present in all except perhaps the last of these categories which is concerned with specific research on manpower, labor market and demographic data which falls outside the scope of traditionally anthropological research. In Curriculum Studies information is sought 1) "for developing individualized and performance oriented curricula, 2) that identifies emerging occupations and explicates the curriculum and manpower needs for the areas or area, and 3) that identifies a common core of basic skills for one or more occupational cluster areas." While this sounds on the surface as though it has minimal overlap with anthropology, a closer examination indicates that anthropologists may be able to contribute a good deal. For example, the development of individualized and performance oriented curricula requires an assessment of who the individuals are who are going to be instructed through this curricula. These individuals, like all others, are more than simply demographic entities. The content of their various identity dimensions becomes

important when planning an educational program which attempts to match the curriculum to the cultural and community ethos of the students.

Assessment of performance may be made at a number of different levels, and detailed study of the local communities in which vocational education is taking place may indicate priorities which differ from those of the U. S. Office of Education, or even the city commissioner of education. For example, the fact that job vacancies and potential workers exist in close proximity to each other does not necessarily imply that a) employers are attempting to hire those workers, b) that those workers are interested in that job, c) that there are not intervening cultural factors making that job undesirable. Skill is clearly not the only thing standing between openings and employees. Anthropologists may point to some of the discoveries they have made in such areas as contraceptive planning, relating the acceptance/nonacceptance of contraceptives to various, often seemingly hidden, cultural factors. If the color of a pill can make a substantial difference in its acceptance in India, could there not be similar factors in educational curricula affecting its acceptance or applicability in the United States?

The significance of this statement also applies to programs on disadvantaged, handicapped, and minority. The agency mandate requires information which will "1) improve the utilization of existing vocational education target populations, 2) improve the image of vocational education for target populations, and 3) provide a basis for improving access to the field or fields of employment for which individuals in a target group or groups have been trained." In this case the description makes it much more

obvious how anthropologists can be of use. The relation between culture and the "image" of various programs (not to mention their place in the social structure) springs out first, but perhaps even more important would be research into the social organization of various vocational education programs and their interface with the community. Both of these factors must considerably affect the utilization of these programs. Nonetheless, anthropologists have yet to become a part of this research effort.

Without going into detail on the areas of Alternative Work Experience and Guidance, Counseling, et al., we note that the former includes efforts to increase employer and worker satisfaction with the experience program. Assessment of the type of experience being provided/obtained can be approached in a variety of different ways, one of which could be through participant observation research. We also note in passing here that anthropology consists, quite obviously, not only of methodologies for the collection of data, but of a number of conceptualizations about these data and theoretical perspectives of social organization as well. A description of work experience programs might very well make use of, say, an exchange theory perspective, and network analysis might provide insight into both on the job experience and placement. The area of guidance, of course, presumes a certain amount of knowledge about the population to be "guided." Very briefly, we may suggest that this knowledge may well be obtained through anthropological inquiry, and that this inquiry may help to systematize a knowledge often only assumed. It is an empirical question of some import to ask whether in fact the mere hiring of members of one ethnic group to

deal with that ethnic group in fact produces sufficient knowledge of the "consumer population" in and of itself. Most likely, every ethnic population in the United States is of sufficient complexity to require serious study as a groundwork for the establishment of counseling programs and the training of guidance personnel.

To sum up the vocational education example, we simply note that the acting director of the Vocational Education Research Division indicated that only a handful of anthropologists had applied for grants or contracts from the division, but that he would be pleased to read proposals from others, and to add their names to the mailing list of the division. The keynotes for any applicant, however, would seem to be that he should be very well aware of the existing research in the area he proposes to consider, that he should make as specific a proposal as possible, stressing its potential for direct application, and its relations to the existing programs within the division to which he is applying.

Lastly, within the Office of Education, the Institute of International Studies should be noted. Associate Commissioner Robert Leestma's Office includes a Division of International Exchange and Trading, a Division of Foreign Studies, and, of more importance to educational anthropology, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Bureau and the International Services and Research Staff. The latter includes the Comparative Education Branch (headed by Charles C. Hauch), for which the relevance of anthropology is clear, although its impact may still be less than we might hope. Although anthropologists' data is often used, most of the compilations are based on

national education systems, of which anthropologists have only recently begun extensive exploration. There is also an International Organizations Branch (headed by Stanley Wilcox) which acts very much as its title suggests, both in providing liaison with and in considering the data produced by various International Organizations concerned with Education.

The Ethnic Heritage Studies Bureau is a new unit, now in its first year of operation. Unfortunately, it appears that this may be its last year of operation as well, since it was not included in the administration's funding request for next year. No official word is out yet, however, and there have been inquiries from Congressional Offices into the matter. The Bureau has generated tremendous interest since its inception. Over twelve thousand persons have requested application forms for an estimated thirty awards. No announcements have yet been made. Although no figure is available, the staff estimates that a great many of the applicants were either anthropologists, or "proposed to use what may be considered anthropological methodology" (it is interesting to speculate on the specific difference between those two groups). The Bureau's charge is to develop curriculum materials, training for practitioners and actual programs in ethnic studies at the elementary and high school levels.

National Endowment for the Humanities

The National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities were created in 1965 for the purpose of organizing federal support which had long been scattered and indefinite to these areas. The NEH takes a fairly broad view

of the definition of the humanities -- including ~~many~~ aspects of the social and behavioral sciences -- but it should be remembered that it is a specific mission agency. Its charge is to further knowledge in and dissemination of information about the humanities, and its staff is drawn largely from the humanistic disciplines. NEH is quite small relative to the NSF and other hugely-funded agencies, but in our experience, it seems to have the most lively and creative staff of any of those visited. Its staff members seem -- from administrative assistants to program directors -- very much aware of the projects going on in their division, the needs which they are intended to serve and the points which they raise. Because of their topical knowledge, they are not forced to rely on outside disciplinary readers to the same extent as other offices. In addition, they do not break up their awards into allocations for various disciplines. This means that anyone fielding a proposal should be prepared to go into some detail on the way his proposal fits both into the general area of the humanities, and into the task of filling an apparent gap or satisfying a demonstrable need. Anthropologists considering making application should consider whether their proposals will either produce or aid in the dissemination of content in the area of the humanities, or will help to better understand the structure of the humanities and the dissemination of information within that rubric. In the former case one would include, say, archaeologists who proposed to add to our understanding of an earlier culture through either new field work or the development of museum exhibits or educational programs; and linguists or cultural anthropologists who proposed to undertake the translation

of literature from another culture. In the second group one would include researchers who proposed to investigate, either in our own or another past or current culture, the relation of humanistic productions to the social structure; or who would look at the social or cultural factors which might affect the teaching or appreciation of the humanities in America. It is not likely that other research or programs would be funded, but it does seem that the second of these two areas has been minimally explored thus far.

The NEH is organized into five sections, each of which has made grants to anthropologists in the past, and each of which could conceivably have some relation to education. Although two of these seem the most broadly applicable, and the most likely to be an area where educational anthropology may be seen to be of important potential impact, we make brief note of all. We might mention that the various sections have and will collaborate on projects of mutual concern.

The public programs section includes grants for film and television productions and for the programs of museums and historical societies. The former offers some possibility for both the teaching of cross-cultural humanistic subject matter (one definition of anthropology and education) and for the presentation of material on education in the humanities from an anthropological perspective. The museums program is further subdivided to include grants for interpretive exhibitions, community education and personal development. Either of the first two would seem to hold some prospects for educational anthropologists. Community education, especially,

provides an opportunity for museologists to increase their ability to disseminate their accumulated information, with grants averaging \$25,000 for the staging of educational events. Either Kay Vayatzis or Kenneth Mathas may be contacted at NEH.

The section on Fellowships and Stipends of the NEH provides a number of different categories of awards to humanists which conceivably could go to educational anthropologists. These are awarded to individuals for "advancing, synthesizing or enlarging" their learning and understanding. The persons selected are generally teachers, and these awards are not intended specifically to produce new research as much as to improve the competency of the individual humanists.

NEH operates a very interesting small program of "Youth grants in the Humanities" which is concerned with sponsoring the research of younger scholars who have not yet finished their training. Particular interest is held for those who have not yet finished, say, high school training. The grants are open to graduate and undergraduate students as well. The awards cover a broad range of subject matter, and applications must be initiated by the "youth" themselves. Some of the projects undertaken in the youth grants program have been very much anthropological -- such as some in ethnohistory and folklore -- and they undoubtedly contributed very much to the education of the researchers.

The NEH also has an Education section which operates a variety of programs primarily (but not exclusively) directed at elementary and secondary schools. It is concerned chiefly with the development of programs

for actual application in the schools. Topics have ranged from Bengali studies to jazz to China to Native Americans to more general curricula on inter-cultural relations. A number of anthropologists have made contributions at different points to these projects. A current concern expressed by staff of the section is that even the best of these research projects in curriculum development are seldom employed beyond the initial districts in which they are developed or tested. There is a lack of any sort of central disseminating unit for such information. To an extent, it can be found if one sets out to look, but it is not continually publicized. In addition, little work has been done in the area of following up the projects initiated by this section (or others similar to them). There is interest in the staff in the possibility of assessing just what does happen to these programs once they reach the schools, both in terms of content and reactions to it, and in terms of the organization of their administration. Again, it should be stressed that this is an applied unit, not one which funds basic research. It is very interested in the possibility of expanded contributions by anthropologists, however, so those with ideas readily translatable into effective curricula (and the skills to do the translation) are encouraged to apply. Anthropologists should consider the possibility of forming links either with the schools or departments of education at their own institutions, or with local school districts. Educators may have skills in curriculum development and teacher training which can be meshed with the content knowledge of anthropologists to produce more effective curricula. Staff here indicate a particular interest in projects which have a direct tie to the

schools themselves, not just to universities and other academic institutions. Interested persons may contact Floy Brown for further information.

The Research Grants section provides the NEH's main arm for the funding of basic research projects. John Mason acts as coordinator for anthropology, and indicates that most of the proposals funded to date have been in the area of archaeology (which, by the way, was specified as one of the areas of the Humanities in the original act of Congress creating the Endowment). Many grants in archaeology and linguistics fall directly into the mandate and are therefore eligible to be considered on their own merits and in terms of their relevance to the Endowment's priority of concern with paying "particular attention to the relevance of the humanities to the current conditions of national life." Other areas of anthropology are included under the statement of eligibility of "those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods." Awards have been made, for example, in ethnohistory. As far as applications in educational anthropology are concerned, very few have been submitted to date. Here, as in other areas, anthropologists seem to be only in the very early stages of making the transition to topical as opposed to general studies. An educational anthropologist could make a proposal of considerable interest to this section in such an area as a study of what is actually taught in humanities classrooms in the public school (likely through focused observation). Such a study could be further developed to include a consideration of the relation between various (possibly demographic, possibly personality defined) categories of students and the teaching and learning of humanities

curricula. For example, in many cities of diverse ethnic composition, there is a standard English Literature curriculum throughout the school system. In addition, the teachers are likely to be trained with a largely similar standardization which equips them to answer certain questions about and to perceive certain meaning in the novels which form a part of their curriculum. Their students however, may for a variety of reasons, including ethnicity, environment, and youth, ask a different set of questions, see different issues in the story of characters. This is not simply a matter of identification and relevance or their absence. Identification may take a number of different forms, and any good novel may admit of a number of different interpretations on various points. A good literature class should also admit of variety interpretations, but many do not. An anthropological study could attempt to isolate what factors, if any, do in fact differ in the involvement of various populations in literature, and along what systematic criteria this differentiation takes place. This would not only increase our sociological knowledge, but could improve our understanding of the literature under consideration itself, and most especially, could lead to improvements in (and simply understanding of) the process of literary education in our schools. A good application in this line of inquiry would get an interested reading, but we include this only as exemplary.

National Endowment for the Arts

The NEA, sister agency to the NEH, is somewhat less likely to include programs in educational anthropology. It is primarily museum oriented,

including training programs, conservation, community participation and other programs designed to give a wider availability to the fine arts collections and performing arts productions of the nation. To an extent there may be possibilities for relevant anthropological research, say, into either cultural or social issues relating to the dissemination or content of the arts; however, this has not been extensively explored, and does not fit directly with the mandate of the agency, which is less geared toward research, and more toward conservation and dissemination. The dissemination programs could very well include education, of course, and anthropological museums dealing with fine arts are as eligible as any other.

The U. S. Public Health Service

The Public Health Service, and its component institutes and centers, etc., are in a state of organization and reorganization perhaps better described as disorganization. The National Institute of Mental Health, for example, long a friend of anthropology, has now been reassigned to the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration. Recently it has had its budget cut and its funds impounded, then subsequently released, with only several weeks left before the date on which they must legally be assigned. This sudden swelling of funds has not meant much of a bonanza to academic researchers since, with the time limitations, the NIMH was obligated for the most part to send out requests for proposals to various research organizations with continuing involvement. This has meant some pleasant (and profitable) surprises for the private contract research companies, however.

The basic point to note about the Public Health Service is that it is a highly developed bureaucracy with funds assigned (or not assigned) to a variety of specific, and often elusively named offices. Under its current mandate, it is concerned exclusively with programs either consisting of, or leading directly to, application to various current issues. Most of the opportunities for educational anthropologists exist within the newly merged Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration (ADAMHA). Let us first simply list, however, several of the other offices which may be appropriate for various specifically related proposals. This is no guarantee that these offices have funds available in their current budgets. Investigators should further be aware of the fact that many of these units issue contracts, not grants, and should consider the variance in announcement, application and administrative procedures which that denotes.

As a brief preamble to our list of offices concerned with physical health, we note that educational anthropology applications may fall into two major categories: 1) contributions to the health education systems of the various constituencies, and 2) contributions to the education of health professionals (both medical and nursing schools in the U.S. now employ anthropologists).

The Office of International Health (S. Paul Erlich, Director) includes a number of subdivisions concerned at a broad level with professional resources, planning evaluation and other programs (reference should also

be made to the Fogarty International Center, noted under the National Institutes of Health). The Center for Disease Control includes (among others) a Bureau of Epidemiology and a training program, both of which may have opportunities for educational anthropologists. The National Clearinghouse for Smoking and Health includes a Health Education Branch; however, this is primarily a coordinating and information-disseminating body, not one charged with the major administration of research. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health has yet to involve anthropologists as extensively as it might in its Health Surveillance and Biometrics Division. Material from this sort of research could conceivably aid in training procedure development to reduce hazards, illness and injury. Here, as in other areas of the health sciences, field studies are becoming a more and more important part of the methodology of research. Anthropologists could fulfill a valuable educational role if they would turn their attention increasingly to the training of non-anthropologists in certain anthropological subject matter and skills. The Food and Drug Administration includes extensive programs of consumer education which could benefit, especially in attempts to reach highly specified populations, from anthropological assistance. Some social scientists have already been involved in these programs. It is necessary to relate such educational programs to the cultural factors involved both in product choice and use, and in the accessibility to education among the particular population. The Bureau of Health Services Research, particularly through the social analysis branch of its Social and Economic Analysis Division, has already attempted

to assess information on the distribution of health services and the social factors in the availability and utilization. As health education becomes increasingly recognized as a part of health services, one may expect that more attention will be devoted to it. The Bureau of Community Health Services, through such units as its Neighborhood Health Centers Program (Youn Bock Rhee, Director), also deals with issues of health education and the cultural and social ramifications of programs and information. As might be expected, anthropologists have already made a number of contributions in the operation of the Indian Health Service. The Office of Professional Standards and Evaluation includes a Health Education Branch under the direction of Marland Koomsa. Under the Fogarty International Center the National Institutes of Health conduct programs in international education and cooperation which include exchange of researchers, conferences, and consultation. The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development has been active in soliciting the participation of anthropologists in its Population Research Center. Sidney Newman, the Behavioral Science Administrator, has solicited applications from the various social science disciplines. These could include attempts to relate anthropological demography to education and to the Center's stated interest in the "Cultural Implications of Population Change." The Center for the Study of Man of the Smithsonian Institution is currently coordinating research by a number of third world anthropologists of the "Cultural Consequences of Population Change" which includes some research relevant to the second direction of the relation of education and population suggested above. There is also

research under way by anthropologists in the methods and effects of birth control education. Among some of the other extramural programs of the Institute are adult development and aging (and anthropologists have studied changes in learning behavior through the life cycle). Interest in aging is related to anthropology through the extramural programs office, the Office of the Associate Scientific Director for Gerontology, and the Social and Behavioral Sciences Branch of the Office of the Scientific Director.

Lastly, within the PHS, we come to the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, which despite its organizational and funding woes, is most likely to sponsor research in anthropology and education. The National Institute of Mental Health is the largest of the three component institutes, and it is already a familiar organization to many anthropologists. In particular, the NIMH Division of Extramural Research Programs has funded a number of anthropological projects. It includes a small grants section of which Stephanie B. Stolz is chief, and a Behavioral Sciences Research Branch of which Martin Katz is chief. This is a more generalized research administration than many that we have considered. Mental Health is defined fairly broadly by the NIMH, and disciplinary ties are not of the essence. Under the current mandate, what is of the essence seems to be a clear and direct relation to applied programs. Although some of the NIMH projects might be considered basic research, they are primarily tied into either specific units of information needed for the making of decisions by mental health administrators, or the design, development, administration and evaluation of mental health programs. The NIMH also includes a

Division of Manpower and Training Programs which has frequently funded anthropology students in the past, and which also attempts to evaluate and monitor the manpower situation for mental health in general. The Behavioral Sciences Training Branch has Stanley Schneider as its chief. In addition, a variety of other branches monitor different aspects of the manpower question. The Division of Special Mental Health Programs contains four centers which act rather as umbrellas for a variety of funding concerns. They are Crime and Delinquency (Saleem A. Shah, chief), Child and Family Mental Health (Edwin J. Nichols, chief), Minority Group Mental Health Programs (James Ralph, chief), and Metropolitan Problems (Elliot Liebow, chief). Educational Anthropology applications would be possible with each of these areas. In particular, the Child and Family Center has previously funded a number of studies of education (both in and out of schools) and although some of this work has been from an anthropological perspective, the Center itself in surveying its programs has concluded that anthropology has been underrepresented. They are still funded for the fiscal year, and would be pleased to see more applications from anthropologists concerning both the relation of the social and cultural environment to family mental health, and of education and child mental health. The other sections of the NIMH are for the most part concerned with intramural research or the administration of specific applied programs.

The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism has been less involved both with anthropologists and with education than the NIMH. It

does, however, include both a Community Prevention Branch (Robert Davis, chief) and a Youth Education Branch (Judith Katz, chief). The general Extramural Research Branch is headed by Albert Pawlowski, and has funded anthropologists previously. The National Institute on Drug Abuse includes the Center for Studies of Narcotic and Drug Abuse (Robert C. Peterson, chief) and a Narcotic Addict Rehabilitation Branch (Lois Chatham, chief). Although the latter emphasizes strictly applied programs, both offer opportunities for input from educational anthropologists. All grants from the various PHS agencies are reported in the Health Services and Mental Health Administration Reports.

The National Science Foundation

The NSF is one of the larger sponsors of anthropological research through its Division of Social Sciences. Iwao Ishino is the head of the anthropology program which is currently budgeted at \$3,900,000 with an additional \$300,000 allocated for linguistics. This is one of the few remaining "general" and not specifically topical sources for research funding. The whole gamut of anthropological research has been funded over the last couple of years, including some dealing with education (although this has not been an extensive part of the budget). Archaeology has been the best represented of the anthropological subdivisions here. None of the last thirty-nine awards announced (from November 1973 to April 1974) dealt specifically with educational anthropology. A couple bore sufficiently vague titles and descriptions to leave the possibility open. For

example, it would seem that a study of "psychosocial processes" would most likely include some examination of education, cultural transmission, acculturation, etc.

An area within the NSF which anthropologists have not explored at all, apparently, in their proposals for research and program development, is the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources. The title may at first sound more appropriate to anthropological thinking than perhaps the traditions of the Division and the discipline would warrant. Social systems here seems to refer largely to formal organizations and technological systems (i. e., mass communications, or the courts) and human resources seems very much to refer to manpower. This does not mean that anthropologists have nothing to contribute, however. The agency has hardly been out looking for any, though, and it would not be prudent to expect them to react to proposals with any excess of glee. Here, the picture of the discipline was very much of irrelevant, impractical loners in far off places. Nonetheless, many of the extramural projects funded from the Division's RANN (Research Applied to National Needs) Program could admit easily of an anthropological perspective as a complement. In discussion with Division administrators, it developed that they would be willing to consider the possibility of anthropological research, and one or two ideas were discussed. For example, one of the RANN Program's priority areas is in studies of the justice system in the United States. Anthropologists can certainly bring a unique perspective to the study of trial processes, and educational anthropologists, in particular, may be able to develop improved

understandings both of the impact of various educative experiences of lawyers, judges, etc., and to relate various factors such as culture and style of presentation (in an etic analysis) to such processes as the instruction of a jury. The RANN Program has awarded over half a million dollars to a study of decision making in six versus twelve man juries under unanimous versus non-unanimous decisions, so the strength of its commitment to the area is clear. It may further be suggested that although the principal investigator of that project was a sociologist, the topic did not of necessity dictate the discipline. Awards have been made (out of RANN's ten million dollar budget) for studies of the impact of divorce laws and "police protection." While it happens that most of the awards given by RANN are for large-sample quantitative studies, other approaches might provide valuable information.

In order to develop a successful application to RANN, and the Division of Social Systems and Human Resources, an anthropologist will have to convince the staff that his research will yield a set of immediately useful data which can readily be translated into the information of the decision making process. He will have to be prepared to confront questions about the reliability and validity of his research techniques, and the justifications for their application to policy research. While it will still require "salesmanship," as we are sure all new markets do, it is important for anthropologists to begin to exert their efforts in policy oriented studies, especially where education is concerned. This program has funded some research in the area of education, but not a great deal. It is not totally

blind to the fact that education is a municipal system (one priority area) or that it is a partial "producer" of human resources (another priority area). Educational anthropologists interested in this program should write a preliminary letter of some depth to either the Director, A. Averch, or his assistant, Linda Pregi. Prospective researchers should expect to go through several stages of correspondence and telephone conversation, conferences and the production of draft proposals before the application is complete. Of those in which the staff is sufficiently interested to go through this entire process, a high proportion are funded. Initial contacts, of course, do not carry any obligation.

The Education Division of the NSF is primarily concerned with the administration of training grants and with the development and evaluation of science education programs. Anthropological input is unlikely but possible. There is a division of Experimental Projects and Programs of which L. W. Phillips is head, which may provide some opportunity for the involvement of educational anthropologists.

In brief summation on research programs, there still exist a number of opportunities for developing liaison between the federal research agencies and educational anthropologists. Indeed, there are considerably more opportunities than there are examples of their utilization. Most research applications in anthropology and education now seem to be directed to the National Institute for Education despite the low rate of return. To some extent, this is inevitable since most anthropologists have broad, basic

research interests and the current watchword in Washington is "applied." Anthropologists in general should explore a broader variety of federal agencies, and should exercise more effort in the directions of both specificity and explanation of their discipline. An understanding of research methodologies commonly employed by anthropologists and their rationale, the types of results they yield, etc., simply cannot be assumed. In addition, anthropologists must face the issue of the limits imposed on their research by their tendency to work alone, rather than in teams. Quite aside from the often idiosyncratic data produced, this means that only relatively small populations can be dealt with. To deal in considerable depth with even a single school, however, will require the division of the task into several components, and the cooperation of a research team in their completion. Despite these problem areas, many federal program administrators are quite interested in the possibilities of relating anthropological research to their various areas. After a bit of explanation of the sort of problems anthropological research can broach, and the data it can develop, many were indeed quite enthusiastic.

Evaluation

We also spent considerable time interviewing program specialists and managers at the Office of Education and at the National Institute of Education on the growing interest in anthropology among educational evaluators. Evaluation today has become a major activity of all social remediation programs and within education, it plays a leading role in research and

development activities. Governmental agencies, the Congress and even the public are concerned with educational activity and its effectiveness. As demands for good evaluations increase, however, so does the impact of poor evaluation. New demands and concerns both of the programs being evaluated and the agencies to whom evaluators are responsible have brought about the current widespread dissatisfaction with past methodology. The customary use of quantitative data, for example, may provide much useful information on student achievement. But, there is growing evidence that it can't supply satisfactory answers to many of the qualitative questions of education today. It is no longer enough to say that Johnny can't read; what is now being asked is why he can't and what will make him learn.

With increasing dissatisfaction over current evaluation methods, two new attempts to refocus the more traditional types of evaluation have emerged, both with important implications for anthropology.

One has been a swing from fixed focus on the individual as learner to an indistinct focus on the program as the unit of evaluation. Early evaluation designs placed the major emphasis on psychometric testing of students. The design was as simplistic as it was rational; if the goal of the program was to familiarize students with a specific body of information then the best way to determine the success or failure of the program was to test those students to see if they had indeed acquired that information. So long as evaluation played a minor role in education, largely restricted to research concerns, the method did not present problems. In the 1960's, however, educational consumerism became a prominent movement in

education and older evaluation methods no longer sufficed. Billions of dollars poured into education programs for the culturally deprived. Ghetto parents alleged standard tests were culturally biased. Effectiveness of the tests in measuring program success was challenged. A major confrontation came when the Westinghouse Learning Corporation gave poor marks to the popular Head Start program, because achievement tests indicated little significant student progress. The Head Start program, then popular both in Congress and in urban communities, remains popular today. The challenge to the program presented by the Westinghouse Corporation, met by sharp public criticism of the company's evaluation standards, threw current evaluation techniques into the arena of public debate. For the first time, evaluation methodology was seriously questioned by people outside the profession. Evaluators were forced to shift away from focus on the individual-as-learner and "program" evaluation became a major area of concern. In order to evaluate programs, observation was essential and agencies began looking to anthropology and "soft" sociology for techniques of field observation.

A second attempt to refocus evaluation design also came about when social remediation programs began to acquire great quantities of money. Social service agencies joined the ranks of the well-to-do. When the passing of Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 brought the sudden investment of one billion dollars into education in the inner city, Congress became concerned over how the money would be spent. It was the attachment of an evaluation requirement to the Elementary

and Secondary Education Act which led to both the rapid growth of evaluation and evaluation agencies and to one of its current characteristics as a system of financial monitoring attached to any grant, award or contract which proposes to produce change in education. Because so much of the new money in education and in educational research was pumped into urban (and primarily urban ghetto) areas, questions of the effects of culture, sub-culture, race, ethnicity and a variety of other features of the community now became extremely important. The established procedures of close experimental control, control groups, and other features of the logic-deductive process began to falter as these new concerns emerged. Clearly, the laboratory-oriented style of research which was part of the tradition of educational research was not satisfactory for the evaluation of either ethnic studies programs or affective programs of education. Again, anthropology, which had always been concerned with these issues, provided a potential source of methodology.

Not all of the pressures for change, however, came from outside, and within education there has been growing dissatisfaction with evaluation studies which resulted in a summative black book at the end of a program, saying to program developers, "Here is what you have done, here is what was wrong with it, if you ever do it again here are some suggestions which you might want to follow" made this procedure of evaluation untenable. In new evaluation procedures, evaluators were required to abandon the approach of scientific detachment they had adopted and "formative" evaluation became a part of the evaluation lexicon along with "summative" evaluation. Rather

than being above and beyond the program, the evaluator was compelled to become a part of the program. Data were acquired at the side of a program, or in cooperation with it.

Most educators and many educational researchers agree that modern evaluation technology is in a sorry state. We still tend to place it under the rubric of research -- thereby forcing upon it canons of science which are in many cases not applicable. Most evaluations today are not research but rather ad hoc attempts to provide some basis for describing and assessing programs and accounting for expenditures of funds. Methods are almost indiscriminately pulled from a hat, or rather, from a number of hats. Methods of testing come from psychology, techniques for program monitoring are borrowed from systems analytic techniques, methods of qualitative analysis are adopted from sociology and anthropology and all of this is hurriedly thrown together to make a bidders deadline. Despite the fact that we persist in referring to evaluation as research, none of the requirements of sound research seem to operate here. There is no theory to inform methodology, there is no consistency in methodological development, nor is there any systematic application of methods and, perhaps most important, there is no system by which what is learned in one evaluation informs the next evaluator.

The primary reason for the discrepancy between evaluation means and ends stems from education's failure to develop a consistent evaluation methodology. Traditional techniques have been formed within a framework culled directly from the various behavioral sciences. The reality of education,

however, may diverge sharply from the abstracted systems of the behavioral disciplines. And normally methods are adopted without reference to their supporting concepts or theory.

The dangers of methodological transplant are not immediately obvious to most educators. Faced with an evaluation requirement, the educator turns to behavioral scientists for a scheme which will allow him to assess his program. Yet, because the behavioral scientist deals with specified conditions, his methods are usually applicable only where certain conditions can be reproduced. Such closed system models also must deal with a discrete number of selected variables. While such models are appropriate to the study of some educational issues, most educational programs which are designed to produce change, require a more open, qualitative, analytic framework. Thus, while most current methods of gathering, recording and analyzing educational data are based on experimental models and require statistical-quantitative measurements, most educational encounters are non-experimental (that is, they are goal-specific operational field engagements), and existent methodology yields little insight into the nature of these encounters. The problem is further complicated because while he is told to control certain variables to see what happens to others, the educator's task is to manipulate variables to achieve multiple objectives; some of these objectives are more important than others, and some may conflict with others. As of now, he has no way of arraying these objectives and evaluating differential effects by manipulating combinations of variables. Nor does he have a systematic procedure to assess the costs of accomplishing

various effects. There is a growing tendency to turn to anthropology for guidance in developing sound program evaluation.

It would be tempting to suggest that anthropology does provide a coherent set of methods and a theoretical base out of which educational evaluation might develop a consistent conceptual framework and methodology. Such is not the case. It would be even more comfortable to suggest that evaluators could look to psychology for testing, systems analysis for monitoring, anthropology for field research -- but this would produce more problems than it would solve. In the first place, the task of examining, defining, and redefining the institutional setting in education should be the principal responsibility of the craft itself and so it should not be assigned to some outside agency or group -- no matter how willing they are to assume it and how unwilling educators are to attempt it. Second, there are no existing preordained methods growing out of specific theories through which evaluators can approach the task of evaluation with assurance of success. There is no theoretical pattern for observation and analysis in any of the existing research strategies of the behavioral or social sciences which fits evaluation needs. Nothing emerges so clearly from "inter-disciplinary" research ventures as the obvious fact that each discipline of the behavioral and social sciences has built its own conceptual framework and culture. Each is characterized by preferred ways of looking at and into the world. These preferences are not superficial; they characterize the kinds of questions asked, the ways they are asked, and the way in which answers are interpreted and presented. Each discipline has its own

patois, a mixture of generalized meanings from the social sciences, and its own peculiar and sometimes precious jargon.

Again, there are fundamental differences between the analytic frameworks of the behavioral scientist and the educator. Typically, the behavioral scientist is interested in a discrete number of aspects of the empirical phenomenon he is studying, and so he deals abstractly and selectively with a small set of variables. The educator, on the other hand, must work in the real world, where he must recognize a number of variables in the situation. Realistically, there is no analytic or conceptual framework which is peculiarly developed for education and so no framework for evaluation. Thus when we should be asking for perspectives from the behavioral sciences within which to frame questions growing out of behavioral encounters in education, we ask for answers and the comfort of borrowing and adapting a conceptual and analytic framework within which to fit these answers.

All of this -- the movement from individual to a program-based focus for evaluation, the concern with qualitative rather than exclusively quantitative assessment techniques, the impinging of culture, ethnicity and community on educational programming, and the need to observe all of this in a field setting-- has been pushing the evaluator away from educational research's traditionally incestuous relationship with psychology towards some active courting of anthropology as a possible source for evaluative technology. In one respect, the educator's problems are comparable to those confronting the anthropologist. He too must observe, record, and analyze behavior in the field, not in a laboratory setting. Through the development of a conceptual

model and correspondent methodology, anthropologists have achieved considerable precision in a natural environment. Over the last several years, this similarity of field strategy has led to increasing interest in what has come to be called the "anthropological method" or more frequently, "anthropological approaches" to evaluation.

While the phrase "anthropological approach" conjures up a nice image of the evaluator as resident ethnographer describing the culture of the system he is studying, it is not only inaccurate, but also dysfunctional because it perpetuates a number of growing misuses. In the first place, "the anthropological approach" has come to mean specifically the use of participant observers--in a very simplistic equation which says nothing about how participant observers are used. Participant observation is an important research style in anthropology (as it is in a number of other social sciences) but within that style it is necessary to develop skills in the use of techniques. Most of the evaluations we have seen which propose to use participant observation usually stress the observation to the exclusion of the participant role and in many cases there is no clear definition of what is being observed and, more important, how it is to be observed, how it is to be recorded and to what end this is all being done. The use of untrained participant observers, who have no grounding in theory and who have not learned the difference between looking at and looking for, has created problems in the field as well. School teachers and community residents have also created their own "conspiracy" theory of evaluation. More and more, teachers and community people are viewing evaluation as a device for

maintaining the system as it now exists. Evaluation is done, in this view, to inform educational decision-makers so that they can suppress any moves for change. When teachers are evaluated, like anyone else who was ever evaluated, they naturally become uncomfortable. It is easy to assuage this discomfort by criticizing the evaluator. When a participant observer who doesn't really seem to know what he is doing appears on the scene, the teachers' attitude is exacerbated and their criticism is fueled.

Finally, most of what we have said earlier in this report about the confusion between behavioral science research as a value-free style of data gathering and analysis is even more true in evaluation which is of necessity value judging. While anthropologists are interested in the scientific study of values, they set great store by the fact that they judge their analytic skills to be free of judgmental bias. In addition, while anthropological techniques appear at first blush to be almost simplistic (as one curriculum specialist told us, "I have been using the anthropological technique for years -- I always visit my schools") they are closely tied to conceptual frameworks which inform the methodology and are much more difficult to master than survey research or questionnaire approach because they are much less structured. All of this is to underscore our major point that field research techniques hold great potential for use in evaluation but that this should not be confused with anthropology. Field work techniques are used broadly in anthropology as well as in sociology and in both cases they are related to theory and cannot be used apart from that theory.

One of the major reasons why field research techniques are so attractive to educational evaluators is because they allow for the gathering of vast amounts of descriptive data about the schools, the personnel and students and the community. Unfortunately, this very richness sometimes destroys the utility of the data because there is so much -- quantitatively and qualitatively -- that it cannot be used. What we have said earlier about the need for a conceptual framework within which to develop a strategy for field evaluation is particularly pertinent at this level.

There is also a reluctance on the part of many anthropologists to become involved in educational evaluation particularly when, as Solon Kimball once pointed out, educational research itself is often used as a guise for attempts at educational reform. Anthropologists, particularly since the Camelot affair, are skittish about involvement in governmental reform programs and the spectre of Dr. Strangelove hangs heavy in the field. In summary, then, we are suggesting that the rubric "anthropological approach" while an attractive one is neither accurate nor productive in describing the application of field work techniques to educational evaluation and that it becomes an important task to borrow from sociology as well as anthropology those pieces of technique, along with their supportive conceptual frames, which are best suited to extract the rich descriptive data which they can supply for use by decision makers. The reasons are summed up in the following passage:

Anthropologists experience the processes, structural variety, and problematic aspects of teaching and learning by intensive, first-hand observations of what

goes on in schools and in less formal situations of instruction. Yet few anthropologists otherwise identify with schools. There are school psychologists, a growing number of school sociologists, but no school anthropologists. The demand, and possibly the fashion, for anthropological knowledge and insight in American schools shows no sign of slacking; yet most anthropologists are content to let the popular conception of what anthropology is, how it is done, and what it has to say stand. Education, formal and informal, is the chief medium of the transmitted behaviors anthropologists call 'culture,' the fundamental idea of the discipline. Yet relatively little is anthropologically known of American public schooling, such related phenomena as 'street academies,' and the extent to which cultural assumptions and culturally defined expectations bias the American teaching and learning experience.

These apparent contradictions derive from, first, the traditional insistence of anthropologists on research in societies other than our own; second, the numerical scarcity of anthropologists; and, third, from conventional attitudes of the profession that consider the practical effects of anthropology to be secondary to its theoretical advance. Serious and sustained application of the discipline to the human opportunities and dilemmas of teaching and learning is anathema to most anthropologists. Much impetus for including anthropology and anthropological perspectives in our schools comes not from the profession of anthropology but from interested public (and private) school personnel.

All of this sustains a fairly delicate balance between anthropology and evaluation as it does with educational research at this point. Again, there is growing interest in "field research," "ethnographic approaches," "the anthropological approach" and a number of other intrusions of anthropology into educational research and evaluation and the growth seems destined to

Ianni, Francis A. J., and Edward Storey. Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues Reading in Anthropology and Education. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973.

continue unless some group or groups within the profession decides to attend to the growth and nurture of the field.

Policy Questions and Issues

The issues which have already been presented earlier in this report and others which developed as we discussed the interviews present some important policy questions which should be discussed and, hopefully, resolved at some point if the considerable promise which educators see in closer contacts with anthropologists are to be realized. Essentially, these policy questions are: (1) the appropriateness of anthropology for the study of education, (2) the relationship between anthropology and social policy in education, and (3) who speaks for anthropology?

1. The Appropriateness of Anthropology for the Study of Education

As we pointed out early on in this report, there is a growing tendency in education to turn to anthropology for research methodologies in both research and evaluation. While this has been most characteristic of the National Institute of Education, the several other agencies we interviewed are also beginning to turn in that direction to the extent that they are developing an interest in education. In each case, one senses a feeling that there is almost the expectation that anthropology will somehow provide a research paradigm which will erase the long tradition of ignoring the social context of education. In large measure this results from the fact that studies in education have tended to focus on the individual as learner

to the exclusion of social context until the Civil Rights Movement forced such attention. But even then, education failed to look at the social organization of education as a natural setting for learning and most organizational theory and methodology in education still comes from a concern with administration and management and so intersects with the sociological literature on formal organizational analysis. As a result, schoolmen tend to question the fit between the formal analytic models displayed by educational researchers and the social reality of their own schools. What is operationally more important, they can't see how they can get from their "here" to the organizational analyst's "there." And many are not certain they would want to make that trip. That is, we think, one of the major reasons for the growing movement to apply the techniques and conceptual methods of anthropology to educational research. Hopefully, this new look may (and probably can) provide better data on how the schools actually function, as well as serving as a tool for developing models for change in educational systems that earlier methods could not provide.

Nonetheless, despite this new interest, conventional research and evaluation procedures in education continue to exploit arbitrary environments, statistical measures, and "problems" in seeking (often basic) information about what goes on in educational encounters and in building knowledge of educational processes and structures. Anthropology does offer a considerable expertise to traditional educational research in this regard. One distinction often made for anthropological inquiry is that it describes

"natural" environments and ground-level behavior. Thus, the descriptive activity of anthropology should concern what people are observed to do, not simply what people say they are doing or what they claim ought to be done. Certainly it would be difficult to argue that anthropology is not a discipline of considerable worth to the study of education. But given the current problem-solving emphasis in educational research, there is some question as to whether anthropology's preferred style of the solitary field worker who performs every step in the research process as an individual and our resistance to large-scale team research, there is some question as to how valuable we can be. Thus, if the craft of anthropological inquiry applies to educational research, it is also true, however, that a great deal of the anthropology of education still answers mostly to the profession of anthropology. Many anthropologists whose primary interest is the anthropology of education still have a marked tendency to assess their work as anthropology; they have in their view a prior and fixed commitment to the discipline and to whatever will advance disciplinary interests, theoretical or practical. This is of course an important and worthwhile undertaking particularly since the history of educational innovation and indeed all recent attempts at social remediation indicate so clearly that when social action programs do not grow out of and re-inform some body of theory, they seldom produce any institutional change. But if anthropology is to realize its value to education it must also apply its attention to questions of both theory and utility in education. Most research administrators really don't see any immediate utility of anthropology to problem-solving

(as contrasted to problem-defining and problem-describing) strategies in education.

To some extent, this results from the nature of anthropological inquiry which is holistic, situational, descriptive, non-analytic and generally designed to result in a statement of system characteristics rather than of the inevitable association of the elements within the system. Eventually we produce a typology of systems and any generalizations which can inform practice are dependent upon the ability to identify the operational system with one of the model system types. Schoolmen, socialized in schools of education to a tradition of educational research which was highly analytic and purported to present interrelationships among elements of a system which were conceptually independent of any given situation want statements of law-like regularities from research. Thus when an ethnographic account of a school is presented to an urban school principal he cannot (and probably should not) proceed to make operational changes in his school based upon these data. Most educational administrators still regard anthropological studies of schools as insightful empathetic descriptions which they do not trust because they are so understandable and inevitably they send them on to the social studies teacher for classroom use. Thus, it is not just a question of introducing anthropological methods or perspectives in educational research, it is necessary to convince both research administrators and other educational researchers that anthropological research and its interpretation and validation operate within a different but equally reliable and valid climate from other disciplines.

All of this suggests that the current usage of anthropology by educators and particularly in educational research does not meet the real test of adequacy: is there a clearly denoted area of interest and competence within educational research which is subject to control by anthropologists? Our answer is "no" for a number of reasons which we delimit later in this report. For now it suffices to say that anthropologists are still involved in education as individuals and usually as consultants on major research and evaluation projects. Governmental agencies explain this by citing the individualistic style of anthropologists ("our experience is that anthropologists not only prefer to work alone, they are actually disruptive if you mix them with other social scientists or educators") but that team research is impossible in anthropology ("...we seldom ask more than one anthropologist to work on a project because they seldom agree with each other").

Certainly some of the reservations of research administrators about the uses of anthropology (and of anthropologists) in educational research are realistic. Our own experience in team research, for example, convinces us that if the old axiom that the problems encountered in team research increase numerically with the number of scientists involved, the problems seem to increase geometrically when those scientists are anthropologists and exponentially when they are anthropologists mixed with other social scientists. But be that as it may, the important question is not so much one of the adequacy of anthropological inquiry for educational research but how well research administrators and other educational researchers

comprehend both the perspective and the methodologies of anthropology. As we conducted interviews we became convinced that what is essential is to provide some consistent, coherent information to agencies on what anthropology is (and isn't) and what the potential of the field is (and isn't) for educational research. Thus, not only is there a tendency to overlook some of the potential uses of anthropology, there is an even greater tendency to expect too much, too quickly in the form of instant ethnographies, two-week training courses for participant observers and any number of other requests which indicate a lack of familiarity with the style and method of anthropology. And, since there is not a consistent and coherent approach on our part, each agency deals separately and individually with anthropologists and with others who propose "an anthropological approach."

From our interviews, we see four major issues related to the question of the adequacy of anthropology as a source for method and theory in educational research:

1) Are the needs of educational research which today tend to be product rather than knowledge oriented well served with the high risk, low yield venture resulting in more hypothesis raising than resolving which is characteristic of most good ethnographic studies?

2) Conversely, would the process of adaptation to governmental needs be disruptive to the healthy growth and nurture of what is still a developing field?

3) Would it be possible (and profitable) to develop within educational research circles and among governmental program managers an appreciation

of the essential unity of anthropological style as distinct from other disciplines so that there might be a genuine adoption and adaptation rather than the present piece-meal borrowing?

4) Is it possible to mesh the individualistic highly personalized style of anthropologists with the growing tendency to develop large scale, multi-disciplinary team research and evaluation ventures in education?

II. What is the Relationship between Anthropology and Social Policy Questions in Education?

From our interviews, and from prior experience it becomes obvious that policy research is not only a major interest among governmental agencies but is the most productive and timely means of influencing educational decision making. Most research in this area has come out of economics and more recently systems analytic techniques and is inevitably founded on the input-output model which is the basis of most policy research.

Yet much of the debate and many of the policy questions which currently produce tensions in the educational system are actually the result of unrecognized, or, at least, unresolved conflicts in values. Questions such as should the schools be integrated or segregated by race, by religion, by social class or by intelligence are obvious value questions. But many other issues such as the financing and organization of schools, their management and staffing, and the delivery of educational system are less obviously but probably even more fundamentally grounded in questions of value. Present approaches to policy study in education have usually tended

to ignore the question of values and their role in structuring policy questions. In part this results from the intellectual origins of most policy scientists who have come from economics, political science, systems analytic or operations research backgrounds. While the concept of "values" is present in some form in each of these areas, it does not have the centrality which it does in anthropology. More important, there is not a tradition of research methodology designed to deal with and inform the concept in these areas as there is in anthropology. In each of these areas (but not in anthropology) there is a real or assumed lack of precision in dealing with qualitative issues such as values and so current policy analysis has tended to develop out of a quantitative methodology. Neither are the clients of policy studies in education particularly attuned to the kinds of feedback they are likely to obtain from qualitative, anthropological inquiry. As a result, there has been virtually no involvement of anthropologists in policy research and, as we pointed out earlier, there is even an implicit assumption in most agencies that "since anthropology is descriptive rather than analytic," there is no potential role for the anthropologist. Here two important issues emerged in our interviews:

- 1) Are there important contributions which anthropology can make to policy research (a rhetorical question, obviously) and what is the best mechanism for furthering anthropological involvement in this important area?
- 2) Other than involvement in research, are there other means of insuring that anthropological concerns and interests are represented in policy and decision-making in education?

III. Who Speaks for Anthropology?

Finally, there is the question of who speaks for educational anthropology. Phrased differently, this question asks to whom government agencies will turn in making the kinds of policy decisions which must inevitably effect research related to anthropology and education. To give some notion of how important this question is, one set of experiences during our interviews is indicative of the problems presented by the distinct nature of anthropological inquiry. During the course of interviewing staff members of the Experimental Schools Program at the National Institute of Education, we were asked for some help in thinking through a problem which has arisen there and which is certain to arise elsewhere. The Experimental Schools Program has been actively courting anthropologists to work on its evaluation programs and in fact probably has more anthropologists under contract than any other agency involved in educational change programs. As part of the evaluation studies a number of field workers are gathering in-depth ethnographic materials on schools, their communities, pupils, teachers and, in some cases, on the evaluators themselves. These data are typical of what field workers usually gather; highly personal accounts which include information which was given in the field in the confidential relationship which the field worker establishes with the people he is studying. Some of the materials are not only highly personal, they are potentially damaging or at least embarrassing to the people under study. It is impossible, of course, to give anonymity to the principal of a school, to a teacher who is so fully described in field notes that pseudonyms are preposterous or to student activities which contravene

school rules or even violate the law. The specific problem for the Experimental Schools Program involves the confidentiality of field notes.

Should all field notes from Experimental Schools Evaluations become part of a general data bank, available to all researchers in the same manner as results from more traditional educational research? Can an anthropologist (citing Section 51:370(1949) or subsequent sections of the March 1967 Statement of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association) refuse to turn over raw field notes (are these the same as the educational psychologist's "data"?) to the government agency supporting his research? The questions stretch out beyond these, particularly when one remembers how paranoid many of us are about letting anyone see our field notes. The point of this anecdote is that while similar questions dealing with research by educational psychologists would automatically be referred by the agency to the American Educational Research Association, there is some question as to who speaks for the sub-discipline of anthropology and education. There are at least five organizations we know of (The American Anthropological Association, its component Council on Anthropology and Education, Division of the American Educational Research Association, the National Academy of Education's Committee on Anthropology and Education and, conceivably, the Society for Applied Anthropology as well) which might lay some claim to representation here. This is not a question of jurisdiction, but rather one of the lack of a clear voice in speaking to and with governmental agencies on matters affecting anthropological research related to education.

While such questions as research ethics and standards are important, there are other issues here as well. There is still some sense in governmental agencies that anthropologists who have made their major commitment to education are somehow less than first-rate. This attitude, which was characteristic of the earlier attitudes toward educational psychology and educational sociology stems partly from the common thrust of governmental agencies to get beyond the current level of research in an area by luring in "the best minds" in the field but also because, realistically, there is as yet no established field of education in anthropology as there now is in educational psychology and educational sociology. One of the usual arguments for the development of such sub-disciplines is the inadequacy of existing disciplines to deal with the complex of problems, the nuances of interpretations and the utility of implementation schemes in some domain of human behavior. Certainly this can be demonstrated to be true of the area of anthropology and education. But we would argue that the development of a coherent sub-discipline of educational anthropology still requires:

- 1) the prior development of a conceptual framework out of which problems can be identified and questions posed,
- 2) that once these problems and questions have been phrased, there must be some consistent methodology or methodologies which are compatible with these questions and which are capable of producing the kinds of data which can inform knowledge generation and decision-making in that area of specialization,

3) that once the knowledge and subsequent policy formulations are placed into operational usage, some scheme of appraisal must accompany them which promises to reinform research and theory in that area,

4) and finally, since we subscribe to Redfield's notion that the real hallmark of an academic discipline is that it has its own mythology and kinship structure, that some provision for the systematic training of new personnel be an integral part of the overall scheme.

Our own experience, reinforced by our experience in gathering data for this report, is that none of these conditions prevail in anthropology and education today. As a result, encounters between anthropology and educational research tend to be episodic and highly situational and despite the fact that there has been a consistent development over the last few years of ethnographic materials on schools, there is little accumulation of knowledge since each new study profits little from previous studies. The issue then is one of developing the field both conceptually and in terms of new students. There are still, as far as we know, only two institutions (Teachers College and Stanford) which offer formal programs in anthropology and education.

Two major issues require some consideration here:

1) Is it possible to identify or establish some locus for continuing concern with the field of anthropology and education which can authoritatively with the important policy and research questions which are beginning to arise and in which anthropology's interests may be quite different from other disciplines?

2) Are there means by which new program thrusts -- fellowship and traineeship funds, career scientist funds and other means of non-project funding -- can be established in governmental agencies in order to give to the newer field of anthropology and education the same opportunities for systematic development enjoyed by more established disciplines in the past?

There are, of course, any number of other issues which might be cited but these appear to us to be the most important ones which emerged during the interviews. Like all issues, they lead to a number of possible courses of action for remediation. We came away from our experience in the interviews and in subsequent discussions that the sooner such issues are discussed and recommendations developed by the Committee for some action, the sooner some consistent development within governmental agencies vis-a-vis the anthropological study of education will take place. Left to their own devices, governmental administrators, with the best of intentions, will continue to deal piece-meal with the field.

PROFESSIONAL NETWORKS, CAREERS, AND EDUCATION IN
EDUCATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGY: SOME PROPOSALS FOR THE
"CARE AND FEEDING" OF EDUCATIONAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS

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Paper prepared for the Committee on Anthropology
and Education of the National Academy of Education

This paper is based upon an assessment of the current relations between the professional disciplines of Education and Anthropology and the potential for development of endeavors that would employ cooperative and practical research and action on problems of education in our local, state, national, and international communities. Our particular concerns are the role and education of those people who are, or will be, professionally committed to careers that span the two disciplines. These are the individuals who have made a long-range professional commitment through graduate training in, extensive professional research in, and/or professional positions identified with, a combination of anthropology and education. For our purposes here, we are arbitrarily calling them "educational anthropologists", though there is no implied logic in, or general acceptance of that title. * We make no claim that we are here speaking to the needs and conditions of all anthropologists interested in education nor those of all educators interested in anthropological perspectives of their profession.

The "educational anthropologists" of whom we speak might just as logically be called "anthropological educationists", "anthropologists of education", or "anthropologists or educators with special commitment to the study and practice of education in some anthropological perspective." Where they have joined together in professional organizations and established networks of professional

* "I don't like the title 'educational anthropologist' as well as 'anthropologist of education' but I especially don't like the the term 'educational anthropology.' 'Anthropological studies in education' or 'anthropology of education' are better. They are descriptive of where our concepts and methods come from." (Douglas Foley)

communication, the problem of labelling has been avoided by talking about the "field" of anthropology and education. In such contexts there is a good deal of communication with anthropologists, educators, social scientists of other persuasions, administrators, and many others for whom there is not a central professional commitment to "the field" but with whom there is some overlapping of interests and concerns. Nevertheless, the "educational anthropologists" will play a key role in the further development of the field and in the extension and dissemination of knowledge and action which will meet the needs of educational institutions and encourage further inter-disciplinary collaboration.

Anthropologists and educators have, almost by definition, many interests and identifications in common. Any anthropologist will see educational processes, institutions, and structures as being, at the very least, his way of communicating and seeking utility for his profession. Conversely, many educators see a knowledge of "man and his works" as being an essential portion of their task of generating and utilizing knowledge relevant to educational processes, institutions, and structures. It should not be surprising, therefore, that contemporary educational anthropologists have come from both disciplines into their present professional association.

One major arena for anthropology-education collaboration in the last decade has been in the construction of materials and curricula for the teaching of anthropology or anthropology-related subjects in the elementary and secondary schools. There have been major curriculum projects -- the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project of the American Anthropological Association and the

development of "Man: A Course of Study" by Jerome Bruner and his associates at the Educational Development Center are probably the best known -- as well as many less well publicized efforts by anthropologists working directly with school people to find ways of communicating anthropological concepts and content in formal school programs. While many anthropologists and educators have participated in these projects, not all such anthropologists have gone beyond their concern with curricular content to apply their basic disciplinary perspectives to the study of educational processes and institutions, and not all such educators have used anthropological perspectives to deal with the broader substance of their professional concerns over and above the specific curricular messages defined for transmission to pupils at particular levels.

It is only when anthropologists and educators have gone beyond the delineation of curricular concerns in the teaching of anthropology that what we are calling a field of "educational anthropology" has emerged. Fortunately, such curricular efforts have recruited a number of anthropologists into asking about the basic social institutions and processes with which they are dealing (Fred Gearing is an outstanding example here) and have stimulated some educators to examine their professional theories and assumptions from anthropological perspectives, as well as to undertake cross-cultural educational research.

Thus, it is assumed that curriculum development projects in anthropology might well be an activity of educational anthropologists, but it is doubtful that such activity is usefully defined as a core element of the field. It is only

when anthropological theory and research practice are applied to the study of educational processes and institutions -- or when educational theory is utilized for anthropological purposes -- that a field of educational anthropology gains some useful substance. It is this field with which we are concerned in this paper. There is already a history of educational anthropology as a field within anthropology. *

The chronological bibliography on anthropology and education prepared by Joan Roberts and Sherrie Akinsanya appended to this report bears partial witness to the long standing, if sporadic, involvement by anthropologists in educational problems. Franz Boas, Bronislaw Malinowski, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Robert Redfield, Melville Herskovits, and many others have made important empirical, conceptual, theoretical, and practical contributions.

There is also a long-standing tradition of interest in anthropology by those associated with professional schools of education. Psychology and sociology, however, have always been dominant in educational research.

Our current problem is how to expand and refine these associations of anthropology and education so that the field of educational anthropology, the respective disciplines, and the educational systems with which we deal, will be enriched by our efforts.

* A pioneering article in the *American Anthropologist* in 1905 by Edgar L. Hewett, "Ethnic Factors in Education", first specifically suggested joint efforts of anthropologists and educational researchers to deal with the problems of education in U.S. Government schools for American Indian and Philippine children.

In this enterprise it is important to realize that there is no unified perspective of anthropology, nor of education, that makes a single statement of the association between the disciplines possible. The definition and boundaries of anthropological subfields is a matter of some disagreement in anthropology, where one finds a variety of sometimes incompatible humanistic and social science perspectives. It is therefore important to delineate which particular anthropological and educational perspectives are relevant to a particular joint enterprise and to encourage a continuing examination of those perspectives which may not have been developed in the past.

Anyone concerned with the improvement of education would agree that it is necessary to specify educational problems independent of disciplinary context and seek out those disciplines, wherever they may be housed academically, which show promise of resolving the problems defined. We should also point out, however, that an important contribution of inter-disciplinary educational research is the raising of new problems suggested by the disciplines themselves. Like the various geometries, Euclidean and non-Euclidean, traditional disciplines of inquiry are associated with different sets of assumptions about the world, and lead inevitably to different sets of questions about what we ought to be dealing with.

We thereby propose to suggest in this paper some of the specific perspectives of anthropology and education which have relevance to each other, some of the problem areas with which they have been jointly dealing, and the ways in which

educational anthropologists might be prepared and utilized to further the separate and joint interests of the two disciplines. Believing, with the cultural ecologists, that man is in considerable measure a creature of his social and physical environment, we also propose to deal with the organizational relationships within which educational anthropologists are trained and/or employed.

While the ideas presented here are those with which the authors of the working paper feel comfortable, our thinking has been much enriched by our colleagues in both formal and informal associations. In preparation for this paper we conducted a joint conversation with some colleagues attending the 1973 Tucson meetings of the Society for Applied Anthropology and solicited reactions to our preliminary proposals and analysis from colleagues, students, and friends by means of the questionnaire which appears in the appendix to this report. A summary report of the Tucson conversation is attached and both it and the comments received by questionnaire will be quoted as appropriate in our presentation here. We, ourselves, come from different directions to the field -- Singleton from education and Textor from anthropology -- but we are both now professionally associated with the field and hold joint appointments in our respective schools of education and departments of anthropology.

Separate sections of our paper will deal with:

- 1) educational anthropologists and their cross-disciplinary relationships,
- 2) established networks of educational anthropologists,
- 3) careers of educational anthropologists,
- 4) perspectives of anthropology and education in the joint enterprise,
- 5) training programs for educational anthropologists,
- 6) recommendations for the "care and feeding" of educational anthropologists.

1. Educational Anthropologists and Their Cross-Disciplinary Relationships.

Educational anthropologists are essentially marginal men in the usually orderly world of the academic and professional tribes that make up our educational institutions and universities. It is primarily in the past ten years that they have begun to gather professionally in a national (and international) network that has taken them into a recognizable association and made them less dependent upon highly personalized institutional niches. While they have come professionally from a previously exclusive association with anthropology or education, they have formed a professional alliance wherein their origins are not as important as their common professional association. Their growing acceptability within the American Anthropological Association (AAA), within which the Council on Anthropology and Education (CAE) was formed in 1968, has made the AAA and its annual meetings the principal locus of interaction. Also important have been the continuing encouragement and support of the Society for Applied Anthropology, the American Educational Research Association,

and a variety of other professional associations in both anthropology and education.

Even with such organizational support, there have been the usual tensions affecting marginal men as their dual loyalties were tested in conflicts pitting one side against the other. Educators and anthropologists often act like tribal or ethnic groups, wherein the boundaries of the group rather severely define their identities. The greater traditional prestige of anthropology over education in university circles has led some educators to suspect their educational anthropologist colleagues of status-seeking and disloyalty to their educational origins, while anthropologists have not been especially respectful of the educational interests of some of their colleagues.

The anthropologist who sought to gain or maintain membership in the educationist ethnic group has been subject to a gradual loss of standing in the eyes of his fellow anthropologists, who sometimes come to doubt that he is sufficiently single-mindedly devoted to anthropology. And the same thing happened to the educationist who sought to gain or maintain membership in the anthropologist ethnic group. The anthropologist in the educationist group is not likely to be fully accepted by educationists as an educationist. He might, however, be accepted as an exotic interloper with something of value to offer. However, among those educationists (largely stemming from the older tradition of educational psychology) who style themselves as specialized "educational researchers," the anthropologist has not, until very recently, found acceptance.

Turning the direction around, the educationist who sought membership in the anthropology group was likely to find himself condescendingly regarded not as an anthropologist colleague but rather as a client for the services and wisdom of the anthropologist. However, it is a major point of this paper that the blockages and attitudes just described are definitely on the wane, that the boundaries between the two groups are definitely becoming more permeable -- and perhaps also more blurred -- with each passing year. Indeed, the central prescriptive purpose of this paper is to suggest practical ways in which the emerging bi-professional role of the educational anthropologist can grow, both in recognition and in productivity.

Some anthropologists have tended to see the field of anthropology and education as centered on studies in schools and often, therefore, dismiss it as uninteresting (cf. Mayberry-Lewis, first NAE committee meeting notes.) Their general understanding of and interest in education as cultural transmission makes them aware that schools organize only a small part of the process of transmitting cultural systems. Their experience with schools, especially in the colonial and isolated areas of the world where they have concentrated their fieldwork, has hardly fueled their enthusiasm for the social role of schools. Schools have, in such settings, been the instruments of colonial domination, missionary exploitation, and/or mindless social striving. Thus they reject a school-centered field of educational anthropology, except as a way of defining new clients for their applied expertise when the "really interesting" anthropological fields of study are inaccessible or unfunded.

Historically, too, the study of education has been associated with the field of culture and personality, in which there has been a declining disciplinary interest.

There is also a small group of anthropologists who have gotten involved with the schools, but for essentially non-anthropological purposes. They have perceived the schools as potential instruments for achieving their own political goals. They have been ready to assume that schools were what some claimed them to be -- agencies of social change in modern society. Through association with the schools, they have tried to change the educational messages transmitted to children. But they have been inevitably discouraged and have not, generally, stayed long with their school interests. In the process, they have not helped to legitimize the interest in education among anthropologists.

While those educational anthropologists who have come from backgrounds in professional education have, indeed, been involved primarily in studies of schools, it is important that they have brought the anthropological perspective of education as cultural transmission to their studies and have perceived schools as social institutions involved with education as a manifest legitimizing rationale for their resource demands -- yet obviously involved in much more profound and political functions in the societies in which they are located.

In the process of such studies they have come to contend with the psychological learning theorists who have long dominated the theoretical models of learning in professional education. Developing anthropological

views of learning with emphasis on the specific experiences through which behavior is changed -- whether in school or out, they are developing an experience-based learning theory and challenging the assumption that highly controlled experimental learning treatments in the laboratory can model the educational processes of social interaction in the community, home, or school. Underlying anthropological assumptions about (1) the cultural construction of reality, (2) the importance of social experience and setting, and (3) the essential intellectual equality of all human groups are shaping an as yet unformulated but potentially very important cultural theory of learning.

Meanwhile, educational anthropologists coming from professional anthropology or social science research rather than school-related careers have been engaged in a wide variety of educational studies. The whole field of early childhood socialization is one such endeavor -- most systematically attacked by John Whiting and his colleagues. Many well-known field workers have conducted significant observations of education in both formal and informal settings (cf. John Middleton, ed., From Child to Adult) and the younger generation of anthropology doctoral candidates is now occasionally (and probably increasingly) encouraged to do significant fieldwork in schools as well as other institutions of modern Western societies (i.e. John Ogbu, The Next Generation). What is important among the generation of educational anthropologists being produced in this decade is that the distinction between educational and anthropological origins is much less salient and the content of academic preparation and the significance of field research accomplished has by now

clearly begun to outweigh the importance attached to the department (education or anthropology) in which their doctorate was conferred and/or in which they are employed. In both cases, the study of education anthropologically is by no means limited to schools and the easy association across disciplinary interests gives impetus to broad considerations of both schooling and education. Moreover their potential importance to the theoretical substance of anthropology has begun to be recognized.

It is also important to note that the educational anthropologists have not developed their interests or their professional associations in isolation from other disciplines. Concerns with ethnicity in education, the role and use of language in schooling as well as the general development of language, the cognitive effects of schooling, the social system of the classroom, the schools as important institutional elements of the community and society, and other specific problems addressed have attracted some sociologists (i.e., Budd Khief), psychologists (i.e., Michael Cole), linguists (i.e., Louis Smith), and others to continuing professional dialogue and association with the educational anthropologists. It is in the study of complex social institutions that anthropologists have realized their need to collaborate with and learn from the developments of other social science disciplines. Educational anthropology has become one of the more active inter-disciplinary arenas of anthropology.

2. Established Networks of Educational Anthropologists.

Many anthropologists have contributed to the development of an educational anthropology through their research and writing. Very prominent in this development has been Margaret Mead who has presented significant ethnographic treatments of education (i. e. Coming of Age in Samoa, Growing up in New Guinea), theoretical contributions (Culture and Commitment, Continuities in Cultural Evolution) and practical applications of anthropological perspectives for teachers and school personnel (primarily articles in educational journals). Other well-known anthropologists have contributed to the literature through their research, such as George Pettitt, Meyer Fortes, Jules Henry, Raymond Firth, Dorothy Eggan, Robert Redfield, Melford Spiro, Manning Nash, and Melville Herskovits. Few of these, however, have been associated with training programs to reproduce their professional interests in the study of education.

A number of American universities have produced professional educational anthropologists of one type or another, but there are four which require particular attention here: Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, and Stanford. All four developments are essentially post-World War II and began to produce doctoral graduates in appreciable numbers during the nineteen fifties. The Columbia program centered around Professor Solon T. Kimball, who first joined the Columbia Teachers College faculty in 1953, later followed by Lambros Comitas. The Harvard group centered around Professor John W. M. Whiting, who joined the School of Education faculty at Harvard in 1949, and remained until 1963.

The Chicago group is associated with no particular single professor, but was developed out of Chicago's sociological tradition as represented by Everett C. Hughes, and earlier by Robert Park and Louis Wirth. In the Stanford case, George D. Spindler joined the Stanford faculty in 1952, and his efforts have been supplemented by those of Robert B. Textor since 1964.

Since the nineteen sixties, considerable additional growth has occurred. Professor Kimball has moved from Columbia to the University of Florida, where he is producing graduates. Other centers more recently include those at Washington University, St. Louis, and the University of Kansas (both associated with Murrery and Rosalie Wax); the University of Illinois at Urbana (Jacquetta Burnett); the University of Oregon (Harry Wolcott); the University of Wisconsin at Madison (Joan Roberts); the State University of New York at Buffalo (Fred Gearing and associates); the University of Pittsburgh (John Singleton); The University of Missouri (Henry Burger); and the University of Kentucky (Richard Warren). Other institutions, too, are active in this field though their precise enumeration awaits a directory of institutional programs in educational anthropology.

It is our observation that alumni of these various universities, especially the four earlier ones, have tended to constitute particularistic networks, characterized by mutual loyalty and support. While the motivational and integrational aspects of such particularistic networks are not to be denied, especially in the field's early years, we believe that the field as a whole has become higher in quality and more relevant to social needs as a result of a current and growing trend toward more universalistic criteria.

While the meetings of the American Anthropological Association and the Society for Applied Anthropology have for many years occasionally included sessions on educational anthropology, the cumulative effect of these isolated sessions, at least until the late 1960's, was modest. An important event occurred in 1954, with the convening at Stanford of a conference on Education and Anthropology, organized by George Spindler. This conference, funded by the Carnegie Foundation, was held under the combined auspices of the School of Education and the Department of Anthropology at Stanford University, and the American Anthropological Association. It was attended by 24 prominent educators and anthropologists. Papers from this conference were brought out under the editorship of Spindler as Education and Anthropology.

Another important event occurred in 1963 at the Seattle meetings of the American Anthropological Association, when the Council on Anthropology

and Education was established. The organizational impetus for the CAE came from the AAA's Program on Anthropology and Education, which had existed for a few years previously, and which had sponsored two conferences, one in Washington, E. C., in 1967 and one in Miami in 1968, each of which drew together a variety of educational anthropologists representing the different alumni networks. Significant papers from these conferences were brought out under the editorship of Murray Wax, Fred Gearing, and Stanley Diamond, as Anthropological Perspectives on Education.

Since then, reports of educational research by anthropologists have become an increasingly impressive segment of the annual meetings of the AAA, the SAA, and many of the regional and international anthropological associations. Both the quantity and quality of research reported has improved.

The establishment of the Council on Anthropology and Education occurred in a context of events that demonstrated a sudden and pronounced surge of interest in educational anthropology. The historical context was marked by widespread unrest among university students as a consequence of the growth of ethnic consciousness and the political reaction to the Vietnam War. Graduate students and younger post-doctoral professionals were clamoring for a greater voice in Association Affairs, and for greater Association attention to matters of education, among many other "relevant" subjects. Early decisions in the founding of the Council on Anthropology and Education were taken by a committee of senior professional anthropologists (Conrad Arensburg, Fred Gearing, Dell Hymes, Solon Kimball, George Spindler, Robert Textor, and Sherwood Washburn), one of whose crucial decisions was that all of them

would abdicate and turn the leadership of the CAE over to an elected steering committee! The great majority of those elected to the steering committee were younger people, most of whom had a greater research interest and a more nearly total professional stake in educational problems than was true of the senior founding group. Some of the most active early members of the CAE were not even Fellows of the American Anthropological Association at that time. In effect, the Council on Anthropology and Education provided an opportunity for many active and productive junior professionals to participate meaningfully in Association affairs. Notably, this group included a number of professionals whose preparation had been through doctorates in Education rather than in Anthropology. This surge of interest in educational anthropology surprised even its most avid supporters. Within a short time, about 1,500 Association members and graduate students in anthropology or education had affiliated with the new Council. It provided a dramatic change in the AAA.

For the last 6 years, educational anthropologists have been warmly invited to participate in the presentations and affairs of the American Educational Research Association and several have taken active roles there (i. e. Harry Wolcott, Murray Wax, Nancy Modino, Fred Erickson). In the last few years, younger graduates in educational anthropology have been attracted into professional educational research positions and have seen the AERA meetings and publications as an important forum for their work. Some have been active in Section G of the Association, which puts them in close contact with the

sociologists, political scientists, and economists of education and with whom there has been further productive cross-disciplinary association.

In 1970, the CAE Newsletter was established at the University of Pittsburgh, under the editorship of John Singleton, as a medium of professional communication. Using a joint newsletter-journal format, this publication has provided a focal point for sharing research efforts, theoretical excursions, and a bibliographic guide to the expanding literature of the field. Sponsored first by the CAE and its Newsletter, and later by the NAE, an exhaustive annotated bibliography prepared by Jacquetta Burnett and published by HRAF Press in 1974 bears witness to the scholarly development of the field. In 1974, the Newsletter was retitled the CAE Quarterly and was moved to the University of Arizona, under the editorship of John Chilcott. The Quarterly, along with publications in significant anthropological journals (American Anthropologist, Human Organization, Current Anthropology, etc.), now provides a well developed communication system for the field.

the overall growth of the literature in the field has been phenomenal. Probably a half of the sources cited in the Burnett bibliography date from 1968 or later. An early and continuing impetus to monographs in the field has been the "Education and Culture" case studies series edited by George and Louise Spindler and published by Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. Teachers College Press, too, more recently has established an important series of books on education and anthropology edited by Solon T. Kimball. There is a continuing demand from textbook publishers for texts in anthropology and education -- though,

to date, the major publications have been readers rather than integrated texts.

While publications in education and anthropology have not been widely distributed in professional education, there are efforts to stimulate this interest, including some direct attention in its publications by the ERIC Clearinghouse in Education and the Social Sciences at the University of Colorado. As more and more educational anthropologists are finding appointments in schools of education, the communication barrier with educationists is being broken.

Several problems have occurred in the increasing dissemination of educational anthropology materials. Some of the education journals have been dominated by more traditional psychological and sociological approaches to educational research and have not been especially active in searching out materials beyond their usual boundaries. Nor have educational anthropologists seen publication in such outlets as a major goal. Some manuscripts rejected by anthropological publications have, however, subsequently appeared in educational journals, somewhat to the embarrassment of the field though seemingly indicative of editorial interests in publishing in this field. Likewise, book reviews in education journals have occasionally been presented in critical veins unrelated to the anthropological perspectives. And, as Wolcott observed in a review of the literature in anthropology and education, anthropologists have themselves made presentations to their educational audiences they would have been embarrassed to use with their anthropological colleagues.

Thus quality control, sophisticated evaluation, and genuine cross-disciplinary

critical exchange are continuing needs in the development of professional communication. The one thing that clearly is not lacking, however, is a lively professional activity in which many people are drawn to communicate the results of their work in educational anthropology.

3. Careers of Educational Anthropologists

The number of professional career positions for educational anthropologists has increased in the last decade and there is a continuing demand for candidates in this field. While many people so employed have come from training programs emphasizing education and anthropology, some have also been recruited directly from anthropology without specific educational preparation and a few have been recruited from education with the expectation that they would encounter and utilize anthropology as a part of their jobs. The rapidly diminished demand for new university faculty in anthropology in the last few years has also opened up a new source of anthropologists eager to compete for positions in educational anthropology, regardless of their previous training and commitments.

Generally, positions we have identified have opened in the following kinds of organizations:

1. Colleges and universities -- faculty positions in schools of education, especially in departments of educational foundations and social sciences; anthropology departments interested in expanding their applied anthropology offerings in educational anthropology; integrated social science departments in liberal arts and community colleges; and in international development education programs.

2. Research and development centers -- research positions in university-related educational laboratories, private agencies working under government and foundation contracts, and private consulting groups. (Federally-funded evaluation of large scale attempts at educational innovation has currently absorbed a number of researchers assigned to long-term ethnographic reporting of these projects.)
3. Domestic educational (school) establishments -- various research and development jobs in School Boards, educational associations, and governmental agencies. (Bilingual/bicultural education and related social programs have been important in this demand.)
4. International education -- overseas development programs and teaching assignments, educational exchange programs, international organizations and foundations.

Thus, in addition to the usual research and teaching tasks of a university faculty member, educational anthropologists have been carrying out a number of responsibilities relevant to their professional field. Some of these special applications have included:

1. Educational evaluation -- Many new educational evaluations contracted by the Federal Government have specifically called for significant ethnographic components.
2. Training positions in government, large corporations, and private agencies responsible for cross-cultural preparation of employees.
3. Advocacy and action research with community groups, agencies, and

non-traditional educational programs -- alternative schools, ethnic study programs, and community action groups.

4. "Career education", "Non-formal education", and "lifelong education".

These are currently popular slogans in both the domestic and international educational establishment. Some educational anthropologists have been working with educational agencies on programs with these titles, while others -- the "deschoolers" -- have sought to elaborate the implications of formal education for those who would resist them. Outside of the overtly political arena there is a continuing need for study of the "power elites" in education.

5. Environmental education -- special programs seeking to interpret man's complex inter-relations with his world have drawn on the talents of a few educational anthropologists. Population education is a specific aspect that has received some attention.

While we would not suggest that these institutions and areas should limit our thinking about the future professional roles of educational anthropologists, they indicate that we are starting from a fairly broad base. In encouraging the development of the field, though, we need to be concerned about the development of professional reward systems which will encourage both disciplinary and personal vitality. We are now at the point where the disciplinary value of educational anthropology is being visibly demonstrated through prominent publication and participation in the professional associations. This would suggest that we now need to face more directly a criterion of the social utility of our efforts -- both in the academic world where higher education resources

are shrinking, and in the applied world of educational management. We have been given an opening into a variety of applied areas but we must be convincing in demonstrating our usefulness.

This is not to imply, however, that educational anthropologists have that magic formula which could provide the key element in unlocking educational productivity. Educational anthropologists, their employers, and their clients will most certainly be brought to a rapid falling out if they expect a prophetic revelation from the shamans of anthropology. At the level of educational management, we are equipped to deal only with a limited set of problems. We cannot claim that our "new" perspective will make life dramatically easier for those who struggle daily with the real educational work of the world --we can only demonstrate our willingness to join responsibly in these efforts.

The younger generation of educational anthropologists is, indeed, engaged. It is principally the older generation that worries about the disciplinary discrimination they have experienced. We can only hope that the specific attention of the National Academy of Education and other educational organizations will lay the groundwork for encouragement of those who have given a professional career commitment to educational anthropology.

4. Perspectives of Education and Anthropology in the Joint Enterprise.

In order to outline briefly the substantive perspectives of educational anthropology, we would like to (1) describe the perspectives of anthropology which sets it off as a distinctive, but not all-encompassing, approach to the study and practice of education, (2) delineate the reciprocal rewards for the fields of anthropology and education from participation in the joint enterprise, and (3) suggest a few specific school-related problems of significance to anthropology. Much of this will be presented in tabular form.

The distinctive characteristics of an anthropological approach in educational research and practice would include the following:

- 1) The educational anthropologist relies basically on ethnographic observation for the collection of data. This means that the researcher uses his immediate experience of participation and observation in the creation of data -- his records of that experience. It is what Solon Kimball calls the method of natural history. It might be added that the emphasis on ethnographic observation is not limited to research. As Rosalie Wax is now making quite explicit, field experience is the "natural" educational technique of anthropology. In research, field work is the method by which the anthropologist educates himself about the social group in which he is interested. In teaching, fieldwork is the technique for reproducing anthropologists and is also the most powerful technique for conveying the substance of anthropology more generally.
- 2) The educational anthropologist seeks to establish the broad environmental,

social, and cultural context of events and processes, and is at home with a holistic mode of data interpretation.

3) The interpretation of data is always comparative in both a cross-cultural and intra-cultural sense. It is the explicit reference to dissimilar cultural systems which leads to many of the questions asked by anthropologists, and to many insights at the data interpretation stage.

4) "Subjective" reality is treated as a socio-cultural construction which occurs un-self-consciously among the members of a cultural system. Formal charters and statements of purpose are only one (not always important) element of this reality and one looks for the latent as well as the manifest guidelines in this social construction.

5) Quantification is not necessarily the goal of an anthropologist, but where feasible and relevant, it is certainly not incompatible with his research style. Before proceeding to quantification of data, the culture-specific or "emic" significance of the units to be counted or measured is established. While most anthropologists are not as quantitatively sophisticated as most psychologists, sociologists, or economists, we feel sophisticated enough to contend that the anthropological tradition of emphasizing emics and relevance to a particular culture, can be a valuable corrective to what might otherwise be a tendency toward over-quantification or invalid quantification. That is, we feel that this anthropological approach can be a valuable antidote to an all-too-frequent tendency to attribute theoretical significance to those variables which can be somehow quantified. In short, we hold that the non-quantifiable (or not yet quantifiable) variables are often analytically

the most important. Another way of expressing our point is that anthropologists contend that deep understanding of problems often requires dealing with patterns, as distinct from discretely identifiable and separable variables.

6) Education is treated as a process of cultural transmission. While this is compatible with the psychologically and sociologically based definitions of education, it contains certain special assumptions and emphases. For example, it specifically separates the processes of schooling and education in modern society because that which is connected with schools includes much more than education and because much education occurs in settings other than the school.

7) There is a continuous concern for observing and analyzing behavior in natural contexts. Random sampling of human populations and laboratory experimentation are not usually compatible with this concern. Behavior is seen as necessarily associated with, rather than confounded by, context.

It should be added that educational anthropology shares many points of view with the qualitative research tradition of sociology and certain schools of social psychology, and that anthropologists are theoretically eclectic and quite widely varying in their methodological preferences.

The following tables seek to suggest some of the reciprocal contributions of education and anthropology. Table I is specifically an attempt to suggest those areas of anthropology that are important in the field of educational anthropology and therefore relevant to the training of educational anthropologists.

Table II speaks to the joint interests of educational researchers and anthropologists, while Table III looks more closely at the problems of school management and their relation to anthropological interests.

Table I

CONTRIBUTIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO EDUCATION: Some Topics in Anthropology, their applications in Education, and their relation to other disciplines *

Anthropological Areas	Sample Applications in Education	Related Substance in Other Disciplines
1) Social/Cultural Anthropology (incl. social organization, Urban, Political, and Economic Anthropology)	a) Education as a cultural process b) Culture of the school c) Social transactions in the school d) Cross-cultural counseling e) Understanding ethnicity in educational institutions f) Understanding family organization & kinship g) Organizing school/community relations	Sociology & Political Science -- social organization, organization theory, political systems

Table I (Continued)

Anthropological Areas	Sample Applications in Education	Related Substance in Other Disciplines
2) Cultural Transmission	a) Understanding the learning process b) Relevance and irrelevance of schooling to learning c) Developing alternative educational strategies (alternative schools) d) Importance of play in learning e) Theory of curriculum development f) Importance of non-formal education	Social Psychology -- group dynamics, social learning theory
3) Psychological Anthropology (including culture and personality)	a) Child development b) Learning theories c) Sociocultural adaptive strategies	Psychology -- projective testing, psychometrics, learning theory, child development.

Table I (Continued)

Anthropological Areas	Sample Applications in Education	Related Substance in Other Disciplines
4) Anthropological Linguistics	a) Language development b) Language arts curriculum development c) Teaching of second languages d) Linguistic bases of ethnic differentiation e) Bilingual-bicultural education	General linguistics; Linguistic concerns in sociology, psychology, and other social sciences
5) Cognitive Anthropology (Ethnoscience)	a) Cognitive and conceptual styles associated with IQ b) Curriculum theory and construction c) Cognitive development standards d) Analysis of intelligence testing controversy e) Cultural bases and assumptions of educational theory	Psychological studies of cognition, intelligence

Table I (Continued)

Anthropological Areas	Sample Applications in Education	Related Substance in Other Disciplines
6) Social Stratification and Differentiation, Ethnicity	a) Patterns of individual success and failures in school tasks b) Politics of school management c) Ethnically diversified instruction d) Multi-cultural education	Political Science; Sociology; Political Economy Dissensus theory Dependency theory
7) Anthropological research methods, (ethnography, ethnosemantics, community studies, hologeistic studies, etc.)	a) Evaluation of curriculum, effects of schooling b) Evaluation of educational inno- vation and change c) Appreciation of stability in education	Sociological research methods (esp. from Chicago tradition) Non-parametric statistics

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Table I (Continued)

Anthropological Areas	Sample Applications in Education	Related Substance in Other Disciplines
8) Cultural Ecology	a) Man-environment interaction b) Environmental education	Biology, Demography, Ecology
9) Applied Anthropology	a) Planned organizational innovation b) Community participation in educational planning	Sociology -- organization theory

Table II

CONTRIBUTIONS OF EDUCATION TO ANTHROPOLOGY:

Some Common Disciplinary Concerns of Educational Researchers and Anthropologists

1. Learning (cultural transmission, the role of play)
2. Socialization (culture and personality, enculturation, child development, political socialization)
3. Teaching and instruction (intentional socialization)
4. Schooling (formalized programs of instruction, the school as a socio-cultural system, the school as a social institution in the community)
5. Language development (linguistic universals, early speech analysis)
6. Multi-cultural social systems (pluralism)
7. Social stratification, (ethnicity, social class)
8. Culture and cognition (biological and cultural variation in perception and cognition, cognitive style)
9. Values and valuing
10. Organizational behavior (bureaucracy, social organization, innovation, civic action)
11. Instrumental and expressive dimensions of behavior
12. Social change and development
13. Cross-cultural interaction (acculturation, assimilation)

Table III

SCHOOL PROBLEMS: Some Examples of Significance for Anthropologists

Educational Problems	Applications in Anthropology
1) Multicultural education; inter-ethnic relations in classroom and society; "cultural imperialism" in schooling.	Acculturation theory; conceptualizations of ethnicity Non-verbal symbolic interaction; pluralism; complex societies; cognitive mapping of participation in stratification systems; reference group and network analysis; dependency theory.
2) Educational planning and policy studies	Social change and development theory; planned socialization in processes of enculturation and socialization, case study approach in applied anthropology.
3) Curriculum design	Theory of cultural transmission (as in work of Fred Gearing); cognitive style and process

Table III (Continued)

Educational Problems	Applications in Anthropology
4) Teacher Education	Meaning of cross-cultural experience, "cultural therapy", problems of grasping whole cultures, developing perceptions of cultural variability
5) Language learning difficulties and language teaching	Linguistic theory; ethnography of communication (as in work of Dell Hymes)
6) Relating educational outcomes to school goals (evaluation)	Ethnographic data on schools as particular social organizations
7) Community control of schools	Social stratification, ethnicity, dependency and dissensus theory
8) Teaching with games and simulations	Expressive behavior, game theory

5. Training Programs for Educational Anthropologists

While some anthropologists and educational researchers will, we suspect, continue to be recruited into the field of educational anthropology without specific graduate professional training, it is obvious that there will be increasing demand for specialized professional study from certain student groups and from employers in the kinds of institutions previously cited. Though some training programs are well established in their respective institutions, there has been little consideration given yet to the setting of cross-institutional guidelines for this study. We will, therefore, suggest some guidelines which might be considered by those responsible for these programs. These will include: (1) guidelines for the recruitment of students, (2) suggestions concerning the content of study programs and offerings, and (3) some models for the organization of graduate study and the granting of graduate degrees.

The most important academic element of any training program in educational anthropology is the collaboration of anthropologists and educators together in the planning, teaching, advising and evaluating of degree study programs. It is the joint training in education and anthropology which will set the model for future collaboration in professional research and practice. This is probably the most important criterion for evaluating present and proposed programs of professional preparation. Educational anthropology is an interdisciplinary academic enterprise and it will be well served only to the extent that this inter-disciplinary nature is an integral part of professional preparation, association, and employment.

Some of the people involved in educational anthropology today are, indeed, concerned that the field might tend to generate its major support in schools of education and that it might lose its close ties to the discipline of anthropology as has happened in many universities with educational psychology, educational sociology, educational history, educational philosophy and other such originally inter-disciplinary enterprises. This is one of the reasons that the term "educational anthropology" is not easily accepted by all; the implication is that a different model of collaboration between education and anthropology must be built which will not permit a splintering off from practitioners of the major social science discipline.

It is also expected that the graduates of new programs in educational anthropology will not necessarily replicate the models of the faculty who organize and direct their efforts. It is the students who will integrate the disparate disciplinary and professional elements of their educational programs and reinforce this integration in new kinds of professional experience. Most important will be the generation of intellectual interests and standards which will make continuing professional interchange rewarding to both educationists and anthropologists.

- (1) Recruitment and selection: Our experience in the recruitment and selection of candidates for advanced degrees in educational anthropology indicates four principal areas of concern: educational career experience, cross-cultural experience, academic promise, and professional commitment. We have had much better luck recruiting people who have some substantial career experience than recruiting younger students immediately out of their undergraduate studies. We have regularly found that the proper background for the incoming graduate student should include teaching or other relevant and successful educational experience preferably in some kind of cross-cultural context -- as in Vista or the Peace Corps. The best preparatory experience, in the case of those who have been outside of the United States, occurs where the candidate has genuinely "submitted" to the local culture, through the medium of having mastered the local language. This type of cross-cultural education experience provides the basis for very high motivation and professional commitment. The individual has a gut awareness of the kind of career he is entering, and he is motivated to pursue this career precisely because he has discovered, through his own experience, the limitations of his background in addressing educational problems in a cultural context different from that in which he was brought up.

Other relevant kinds of cross-cultural experiences include that of the U.S. minority member who had had to learn to cope with the dominant WASP culture, and that of the foreign "third world" student who has mastered, at least, the American academic sub-culture in his studies here.

Even the most successful cross-cultural educational experience, however, in no way takes the place of academic background and ability. Successful cross-cultural experience and academic ability are not, unfortunately, necessarily correlated. A candidate's previous academic record does tend to predict academic success in most graduate programs. A strong social science background is probably the most useful academic background for students in educational anthropology.

The combination of cross-cultural experience and practical involvement in educational practice provides a basis for a professional commitment in both the required graduate study and in the search for career appointments once that study is completed. Cross-cultural adaptability, academic talent, experience in educational programming, and a sense of commitment to building a continuing career in educational anthropology are, therefore, the characteristics we would emphasize in recruiting the next generation of educational anthropologists.

- (2) Guidelines for doctoral study programs: A continuing characteristic of educational anthropology will be diversity of students' prior experiences, as emphasized in the previous section, and a variety of professional goals. It is not possible or desirable, therefore, to suggest a specific curriculum for a program in educational anthropology. It is, however, possible to suggest the areas and methods of organizing study programs that ought to be considered.

As a cross-disciplinary field, it is of obvious importance for all

practitioners to be able to communicate easily with practitioners of the parent fields. This would suggest the necessity of fundamental exposure to the foundations of these fields -- even though there are continuing problems in each field of defining its foundations. Prior experience, formal study, and fieldwork will all be relevant to this purpose.

Academic concentrations or specializations will include the field of educational anthropology itself, identification with specific areas of anthropology, and a delineation of the range of educational theory and practice which one will propose to deal with. An anthropological "way of knowing" and an educational base for the choice of problems and settings in which to apply anthropology will be equally important. In the field of educational anthropology these perspectives will be brought together, but neither can be subsumed by a joint program isolated from either of its disciplinary origins.

Within educational anthropology, it will be important to discriminate the study of education as a cultural process, the study of schools as social institutions, and the study of schools as educational instruments. It is important that the field not be narrowly conceived as a school-centered subject area -- indeed a significant contribution of educational anthropology is an expansion of our educational perspective that demonstrates the wide range of social learning settings in any society and the limited nature of education occurring within the schools.

A uniquely important educational method in anthropology is the practice

of fieldwork. While all professions recognize the importance of guided practice in the fields of professional responsibility, it is only in anthropology that fieldwork is also seen as a basic research tool for the extension as well as transmission of knowledge. This would suggest the importance of fieldwork in any educational program with the usual anthropological insistence upon cross-cultural fieldwork as both a research and training strategy.

In addition to the usual anthropological fieldwork, there is an additional need for professional practice in community collaboration -- what Ward Goodenough has called "cooperation in change." Specific practice in working with communities, social agencies, or social movements requires a recognition of the problems of agents and clients in their transactions aimed at achieving social change. Schools are, by and large, remarkable contributors to social stability and continuity -- but many of the educational problems with which educational anthropologists will be expected to deal involve expectations of societal, as well as individual, change. While some anthropologists believe it is possible to combine anthropological fieldwork with social action -- as Sol Tax has done in "action anthropology" -- it is necessary that professional preparation in educational anthropology cover both dimensions through both academic preparation and field experience.

A final important element for any educational anthropology training program would be the provision of opportunities for multi-disciplinary consideration of educational research. Psychology, sociology, political

science, economics, geography -- indeed all of the social sciences -- have important insights and questions to bring to the study of education. No educational anthropologist should be allowed a parochial view of the social sciences. He must know where to turn for what is already known, or might be known, in these other fields. There are also some common skills and problems which require this multi-disciplinary perspective -- such as the skills associated with computers, statistics, and the problems of educational evaluation.

We would like to further elaborate on these areas of study -- (1) the "foundations" of anthropology and education, with appropriate specializations in these fields; (2) the specialized view of educational anthropology; (3) the importance of fieldwork; (4) the practice of community collaboration; and (5) the provision of multi-disciplinary social science research experience.

The "foundational" fields of anthropology and education are usually organized in specific introductory courses offered by the respective departments in our universities. It has often been our experience that graduate students who have not been previously exposed to such courses are able to read independently in these areas, though some prefer to sit in on the introductory courses too. Most students in educational anthropology have already touched base with both fields and there is no need to organize new introductory sequences for them. They have not usually had the opportunity to participate in more specialized fields, however, and it is in such educational areas as evaluation, teacher training, curriculum, administration, philosophy, or psychology that they begin to develop an

alliance with the field of education. Likewise, in anthropology, it is in the specialized subfields that the educational anthropologist candidates begin to find their working colleagues. Those areas of anthropology listed in Table I, from social anthropology to ethnoscience, linguistics, psychological anthropology, cultural ecology, and applied anthropology are all places to find significant and substantive professional perspectives.

Obviously some selectivity is needed, since nobody could be expected to be proficient in all of the areas listed. Nonetheless the student should be exposed to the general range of anthropological and educational studies and should be helped, in the educational anthropology specialization, to see the relevance of all of these to his professional future. Ultimately, he will focus on those most relevant to his own experience and his own future career. For example, an educational specialist with a background in clinical or experimental educational psychology may well find himself drawn to psychological anthropology.

The educational problems listed in Table III suggest some of the areas in education where the anthropological researcher would want to get acquainted -- though there is again a need for selectivity. Educational anthropologists -- like educationists and anthropologists -- will become increasingly selective and specialized as their programs and career preparation continues. They will also belong, however, to the wider professions and will not serve themselves well by withdrawing into a sheltered professional niche. Advisors will have to assist students in balancing their general professional fields with

their specific specializations and applications.

An example of one educational field currently important to educational anthropologists is that of educational evaluation. If a student believes that this is an appropriate professional activity, it is necessary that he become familiar with the processes, assumptions, and politics that currently are a part of this field. The techniques of evaluation require both science and art and are based upon sophisticated philosophical analysis. Some consideration of this area is probably required for all students, since it will be a continuing professional concern.

In the field of educational anthropology, the student would be encouraged to read widely and selectively in the literature of the field, which is now summarized comprehensively in the bibliography by Burnett, et al., Anthropology and Education: An Annotated Research Guide (1974). Educational anthropology may conveniently be broken down into three sub-elements, namely education as a process, schools as educational instruments, and schools and other educational structures as social institutions.

Under education as a process, the concepts of cultural transmission and enculturation are basic. Within these concepts, education, schooling, socialization, learning, and teaching are subsumed. Particular attention should be paid to attempts by anthropologists to develop comprehensive theories of learning and teaching. Theoretical contributions worthy of close examination would include those by Mead, Whiting, Spindler, Kimball,

Gearing, and the Waxes. Another subsumable area of concern is that of culture change and acculturation.

Attention to schools and other educational structures as social institutions would include a focus on the culture of the schools, following the lead of such scholars as Waller and Burnett; organizational theory as applied to educational structures; the school as a community institution in functional interaction with the economic, political, and social and religious institutions of the surrounding community; and "non-formal" education. One of the best (although early) and most comprehensive outlines for the study of schools as social institutions is that by Willard Waller.

Considering schools more narrowly as educational instruments comprises only a portion of the emphasis that, in our opinion, should form the scope of educational anthropology. We stress this point, because there is a tendency for some scholars (including some anthropologists) to define this subject as the proper subject for educational anthropology. In fact, the work of many educational anthropologists are often perceived as being narrowly confined to this emphasis. However, the work of most contributors to the Spindlers' Education and Culture Series, for instance, treat the school as a social institution or deal with the larger processes of enculturation. Work by anthropologists which does fit into this third category includes that by Jules Henry and Michael Cole, both of whom deal directly with the educational effects of formal school experience.

The requirement for cross-cultural fieldwork for most advanced students

in educational anthropology would not be their first significant cross-cultural experience. Already coming from backgrounds of cross-cultural experience, their fieldwork would often contrast with their previous experience as a research-oriented enterprise. While some would return to fieldwork settings which they had previously experienced, others would begin anew the process of cross-cultural learning and adaptation. For "third world" foreign students or American minority students, a "third culture" experience is particularly desirable. The foreign student's experience in the American academic sub-culture and the minority student's bi-cultural experience in America have not generally involved a sudden immersion in new, completely foreign settings. Such students might be generally directed to new "third culture" experiences. This need not entail overseas travel and can often be done conveniently near the university, as in the case of the Afghan student who chose to do dissertation research on Chicano education.

It is also important that non-minority Americans with overseas cross-cultural experience become involved in the cultural differences of their own society. Their student colleagues from overseas or American minority backgrounds are often helpful in introducing them to the cultural constraints of their own society.

Generally speaking, we take the position that a "third culture" experience is valuable for all students, regardless of their previous cross-cultural

experience. The fieldwork involved in this "third culture" experience may be oriented to research and/or social action purposes. It is generally difficult for the students in educational anthropology not to be drawn into immediate social action programs -- we only argue here that these should be considered an important aspect of their training programs and a possible base for significant research.

Cross-cultural fieldwork, from an anthropological perspective, is not always understood by researchers and practitioners in other fields. Sophisticated survey researchers often describe their preparation for formal surveys in ways that suggest the anthropologist's fieldwork. Some imply that they are more efficient than anthropologists since they can conclude their open-ended fieldwork much more quickly than anthropologist and get on to the collection of their "hard" data while the anthropologist is still participating in drinking parties with his informants. Such a view overlooks the "hard" data of ethnography and the alternative methods of field research developed in anthropology. Some educators have picked up on anthropological descriptions of fieldwork to justify the tradition of non-participant observation in classrooms and schools. They seem to feel that they have a new justification in anthropology for what they have always done. It is a new label to justify old errors in subjective observation.

Other educational researchers, however, have made the anthropological methodology their own. (Phillip Cusick, Frank Lutz, Louis Smith, Phillip Jackson, and Semour B. Sarason are exemplary of this latter type.) We

would expect that some of these important fieldwork models from educational research would be presented in the consideration of educational anthropology and that the training programs would lead naturally to an intensive, anthropologically-oriented field study as the basis for dissertation research.

Experience in community collaboration or "cooperation in change" usually means an association with projects of social or organizational change. Such experience may or may not be a part of research-oriented fieldwork and "third culture" experience described above.

In principle, there are two types of community collaboration involved in the practical applications of educational anthropology. We tend to think first of the collaboration with community groups or local social movements which are the recipients of educational programming. Often one is expected to provide some leadership in community organization -- to take the lead as "agent" in preparing "clients" for the educational service they will receive. It is also possible to be associated with "clients" who are contesting the rights and practices of educational authorities or programs. In either case, the educational anthropologist may act as consultant, broker, or agent in negotiating common objectives with his clientele and seeking the means to accomplish them -- usually in their dealings with outside authority. Such is the case, for instance, of the anthropologist who works with organized ethnic communities in their attempts to gain more direct control of the educational institutions and processes affecting them.

The second type of community collaboration involves the educational

anthropologist as consultant to, or participant in, the social and educational agencies. His "clients" in this case are the professional educators and administrators involved in implementing educational programs.

The major difference in these two types of community collaboration is the social class status of one's clients and their ability to pay. In practice, as anthropologists have long demonstrated in colonial or neo-colonial administration' and other professional forms of applied anthropology, one is often caught in a conflict of responsibilities and loyalties between the employer and the people with whom one is expected to deal. It is all too easy to become paternalistic with those clients of the first type and to become an administrator, rather than a mediator, in conflicts between the recipients of social services and those who direct the provision of social services. For this reason, some practical experience of community collaboration during the training program in educational anthropology would assist the student in a realistic appraisal of his potential for effecting social or organizational change in the field.

We have an obvious bias in anthropology for associating ourselves with the aspirations of people at the "grass roots" and should be able to find ways to serve these aspirations in our development of the field of educational anthropology. This is not to suggest that students should be sent out to "change" some community group or some local school. Rather they should find ways to work with community colleagues in the gathering

of social data relevant to educational change. They should be aware of what they are getting as well as what they are giving in their community experience. They should experience the process of negotiating common goals and discovering that "what is needed for development is not so much a matter of fact as a matter to be negotiated." (Goodenough, Cooperation in Change)

When community collaboration is a process involving both research and action, many students of educational anthropology are able to develop collegial research relationships with their activist informants as well as joint projects for political or social action. Research is then developed as a tool for action.

A final guideline for training programs in educational anthropology would be the provision for multi-disciplinary social science research experience. One must avoid a tendency toward disciplinary chauvinism by making the student aware of the contributions to educational research from the other social science disciplines, including those already embedded in schools of education. Without systematic exposure to the field of educational research and to the educational perspectives of psychology, sociology, political science, economics history, geography, and the other more eclectic social science perspectives, the educational anthropologist will not be able to develop an understanding of the place of his own contributions in educational research. While one could think of an interminable list of courses that might be recommended, there are some alternative methods for providing this experience. At one university, student educational

researchers from many social science disciplines have been drawn into a continuing seminar offered by the educational research and development center there. In programs of international, comparative, and development education, multi-disciplinary faculties typically provide an integrated contact with their various research approaches to education. (Pittsburgh and Stanford support much of their educational anthropology through these programs.)

In addition to the inter-relationship of the several social sciences, there are important research skills common to all of the disciplines. Statistical and computer training form an important contribution in educational anthropology.

Every educational anthropologist needs to know what the computer can do and can not do, to assist his research. At a minimum, it would be essential for each doctoral candidate to have an introductory course in computer science, which will familiarize him with the potential of the computer, introduce him to the nature of computer languages, and train him to prepare his data in such a way as to take advantage of such standard computer routines as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences.

In addition, we would highly recommend that every candidate be exposed to a course in computer models of social behavior, in which the emphasis would be upon the specification of simulation models, determining their properties, and testing them.

At a minimum, every candidate should also be thoroughly grounded in

in statistical methods for the summarization of data, and in statistical inference, including tests of hypotheses, estimation, and confidence intervals. He or she should be able to use test procedures for the normal distribution, and should be able to handle simple regression and correlation, as well as other measures of association. In addition, we feel that various non-parametric analytic techniques lend themselves peculiarly well to ethnographic research, and are an essential tool for the modern ethnographer.

Beyond this, some educational anthropologists will need more advanced statistical training, moving into areas such as multivariate normal distribution, multiple regression, partial and multiple correlations, linear and non-linear models, advanced analysis of variance, and analysis of covariance.

- (1) Organizing degree-granting programs: Several institutional patterns for the organization of degree-granting study programs in educational anthropology have evolved from the universities currently active in this field. All involve varying degrees of collaboration between faculty and students in anthropology departments and various departments in education. The recently increasing interest in applied anthropology has also stimulated the development of new programs that bring a number of applied fields (education, health, urban planning, etc.) together for a common anthropological training.

More important than the particular organizational pattern of collaboration in anthropology and education is, of course, the extent of cross-disciplinary interest and commitment to students entering educational anthropology and

the provision for academic recognition of their competence. While there will probably continue to be disparities in academic status between social science degrees (anthropology) and professional school degrees (education), there is ample evidence of sophisticated attention by employers to the content of degree study programs as the graduates from contemporary educational anthropology programs compete for the same jobs regardless of the specific department which granted their degrees. Some people with education degrees are currently teaching in departments of anthropology and some with anthropology degrees are currently teaching in schools of education as well as the more usual case of identity in degree and departmental associations. Joint appointments have been increasing in the last decade. But university faculty positions will certainly not continue to predominate as locations for careers in educational anthropology. Outside of the university setting there will be even less significance attached to the title of a degree.

Most programs in educational anthropology have grown out of informally organized joint programs -- often associated with a professor who holds a joint appointment in anthropology and education. Students are recruited from, and enrolled in, anthropology or education but take a number of their courses together. The major difference in their study programs is in the process for examinations and in the structure of courses which are considered fundamental to the department in which they are enrolled. In a few cases students are enrolled in both departments for a joint degree (as at Columbia)

while in others, one minors in one department and majors in the other (as at Stanford).

Becoming more common is the possibility of enrolling for a masters degree in anthropology concurrently with doctoral study in education, with the doctoral dissertation serving thesis requirements in both departments. Such programs do not necessarily involve a jointly appointed professor of education and anthropology and may represent a sharpening of the differences between the departments concerned rather than a pattern of increasing collaboration. As anthropology departments expand their interests in applied anthropology, it is important that there be continuing recognition of the need for cross-professional collaboration in their curriculum design, teaching, and evaluation.

Another model of collaboration in educational anthropology has been the Center for the Comparative Study of Education and Culture at the University of Kyushu in Japan. Organized about 20 years ago, the Center is an administrative combination of the departments of cultural anthropology and comparative education -- including anthropologists, philosophers, historians, and sociologists on its staff. Though the founding faculty maintained their disciplinary distinctions, students from that program have demonstrated a unique synthesis of professional interests. Through the Kyushu Center, many Japanese educators are familiar with Japanese, American, and other anthropologists. A regular program of visiting scholars has brought a number of foreign anthropologists to the Center and some of their work

has been published in Japanese through the Center. Faculty and students from the Center have also participated in research and teaching in the U.S. though much of their field study effort has been concentrated in Thailand and Indonesia.

This model of institutional consolidation of anthropology and education is not one we would generally recommend, though it might be worth encouraging some similar experimental combination in a U.S. setting.

While double degree programs are symbolically attractive, they in some cases represent a kind of double jeopardy for degree candidates that might detract from the self-directed educational features of fieldwork and community collaboration, as candidates take a double dose of "required" courses. Where departments of anthropology and education are interested in experimenting with this arrangement, it would be prudent to suggest that less formal single degree cooperative programs not be sacrificed to the ideal of a double degree. There is certainly no reason why the same institution might not make both single and double degrees available to its students.

Several universities (Pittsburgh, for example) allow for masters degree programs in educational anthropology -- usually in departments of educational foundations or international, comparative, and development education. Such programs have different career objectives and usually recruit students already well-established in education-related careers. For these students, often involved in cross-cultural education programming, the degree program in educational anthropology allows a sharpening of educational skills with anthropological perspective that relate to specific teaching, administrative, or research assignments in their employing organizations. Many of the students are recruited from those who entered educational careers as "para-professionals" but who are now in agencies outside of the public schools. The participation of such students in educational anthropology enriches the field through the practical experience which such students bring to the study of theory and in the avenues of community collaboration in educational programming opened to the doctoral students in the program. These students find, in anthropological theory, a framework for consolidating their practical experience. Research skills are important to them in the establishment of program policy and in the evaluation of their own and others educational efforts. Skilled community organizers are often attracted to these programs.

Masters degree programs in anthropology, such as those being developed in applied anthropology, may well serve similar functions, whether or not they are connected with doctoral level professional studies in education.

But, like the programs supervised by education departments, they require collaboration between the education and anthropology faculties.

In conclusion, it should be evident that there are a variety of institutional arrangements for promoting the field of educational anthropology. There is no reason to believe, however, that formal degree training programs will be the only entrance to this professional field. Increasingly, we suspect that there will be an interest from university faculties, certain kinds of students, and educational agencies in the establishment and preservation of high level academic preparation in the field. As in the past, established professional anthropologists like Margaret Mead will develop interests in the study of education and will bring new perspectives to the field -- as will educational researchers from other fields. In recent years, people like Bud Khlief, Joan Roberts, and Michael Cole have been drawn from other social science backgrounds to identification with educational anthropology. Educators, too, like Theodore Brammield, Paul Nash, and Nancy Modiano have made significant contributions in this enterprise.

Programs in educational anthropology should not serve as gate keepers against the contributions of such people as these -- they should, instead, broaden access to this perspective on educational research and practice. We are proposing more, not fewer, channels into the practice of educational anthropology.

6. Recommendations for the "Care and Feeding" of Educational Anthropologists

Educational anthropology is an essentially bi-professional field related to its parent disciplines of education and anthropology and supported by an emerging professional reference group. It is not a new profession, but a new way of practicing anthropology or education. Organizational structures within which educational anthropologists are trained or employed will, therefore, have to recognize the bi-professional relationships and seek ways to keep the communication channels open both ways. Educational anthropologists ought not be allowed to create an isolated academic or institutional niche.

In the long run, the significant criterion of success for an educational anthropology will be its intellectual usefulness to the parent disciplines. New conceptual frameworks, theoretical advancement, the sharpening of research methods, the opening of theoretically significant research settings, and the demonstration of particular practical applications to the problems of professional practice are the academic payoff. If the practitioners of educational anthropology and the training programs they are associated with lead to disciplinary contributions in education and anthropology, the field of educational anthropology will receive enthusiastic support. Organizational arrangements and training programs must keep these goals in mind and assess their respective impact.

In order to make these contributions possible, we have suggested that cross-disciplinary communication and collaboration is the basic

requirement. Associated with this is a broadened perspective from educational researchers which will legitimate new forms of such research and support the kinds of efforts that anthropologists bring with them. Sensitivity to cultural patterns and cultural difference is a required attitude of professionals from both educational and anthropological backgrounds as they deal with each other.

Neither education nor anthropology will be well-served if the practitioners from either side elect to take a reformist approach to each other. Both can learn and gain from the interchange -- if they will only listen to each other.

There is an obvious need for significant support to those universities already committed to collaborative training in educational anthropology -- so that the programs already established will not be perceived as academic frivolity by cost-cutting university administrators. Support for student and faculty research, such as that initiated by the U.S. Office of Education and NIE is a very important component of such support.

In this kind of support it is essential to underline the international and cross-cultural scope of anthropology. An educational anthropology limited only to U.S. citizens working only within U.S. borders would not serve us well. Provision for practical internships in community and institutional collaboration would assist students at home and abroad in intensive professional application of their disciplinary training. Such internships should provide for practical experience in dealing with community organization, political and educational conflict, and the bureaucratic

institutions of mass society. For those who will be expected to apply educational anthropology to theoretical or practical problems of education, it will be important to have such relevant field experience.

Support of multi-disciplinary research seminars and projects in educational research -- particularly associated with centers of creative educational research and development -- would assist budding anthropologists and other social science disciplinarians in their understanding of their potential role in the improvement of education practice. Building multi-disciplinary collaboration in educational research as a part of degree training programs will probably be considerably more effective (and economical) than funding joint research projects of established scholars. The patterns of collaboration in graduate study tend to carry over into professional practice.

In all of these programs, the essential educational and research technique of anthropological fieldwork must be emphasized and supported. This can be done with relatively modest expenditures on fellowships and small grants.

Rosalie Wax and I are great believers in personal intensive fieldwork (alias "participant observation"), and we have become even more firm in our convictions as a result of recent research, conducted by Rosalie, among young people who have had fieldwork experiences. As educators, and as anthropologists interested in improving educational institutions, we find fieldwork to be productive of personal development, cognitive and affective. (Murray Wax)

Anthropological training depends upon the experience of fieldwork in depth, the learning and use of field languages, the development of close human relationships -- all of the skills of ethnographic research which give credibility to trans-cultural data. Together with the conceptual frames of the discipline it provides a potentially powerful "world view" for the analysis of educational process and the institutions of schooling.

An important problem in the professional development of educational anthropology is the continuing disenfranchisement of local community people in their attempts to control the educational and other social services which they receive. The problem is to provide for the support of local efforts by those who have been economically, politically, or socially discriminated against -- providing them, too, with the skills at our disposal and supporting them in their efforts to take control of their own destiny. An over-concern for educational certification only contributes to the expansion of the social welfare establishment. We need, therefore, to apply to ourselves an understanding of the ritualistic legitimation of social prestige and power which our educational institutions confer.

I see as of first importance some way in which anthropological and educational skills and competencies can be made available, extended into communities; so that the dichotomy between community-to-be-helped and bureaucracy of helpers, is broken down. . . . The great need is to share what we really know and can do (a subset of the claims of any given discipline) with those who in the past have been conceived

as the objects of study. (Dell Hymes)

This suggests an important educational function of educational anthropology to which we must apply ourselves. Academic and professional legitimation is not the ultimate goal -- but a means to certain ends that should include humane as well as academic values.